

the then *Aldermen*, who all by name in their order stand blamish upon Record, That for the *Errours, defects and misprisions* in their Government, they were fined at 3000 marks, and the *City Liberties* seized on by the King. Can you imagine that every or any water or *aqua fortis*, will wash of or weare away this their obloquie and reproach, *Abundans cautela non nocet*, Very much cautionnes will no way hurt you.

Consider on the other side, that the wisest of Kings, spoke very wisely, when he said, *A good name is rather to be chosen then great riches, and that it is better then a pretious ointment*. And will it not be so to you, when for your long lasting fame and glory, it may stand upon Record to after ages, when we are dead and gone, That in *Anno 1644*. when the Right Honourable *Thomas Atkin* was Lord Mayor, the right Worshipfull *William Gibbs*, and *Richard Chambers* were Shrieves, and that learned and able Lawyer and Patriot of his Countries libertie *John Glyn* was Recorder, and such and such worthy Knights and Gentlemen, reading you all according to your degrees by name, was *Aldermen*: That then by your assistance and consent, *London*, I say the *Commonality of London*, was restored to their long lost *Liberties and Priviledges*.

Consider what I say, and the Lord give you understanding in all things.

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4

A S H O R T
A N D T R U E
R E L A T I O N
O F

Some main passages
of things (wherein the
Scots are particularly concer-
ned (from the very first
beginning of these unhap-
py Troubles to this

By David . day. Buchanan

Published by Authority.

Zech. 8. 16.

These are the things that ye shall do : Speak ye
every man the truth to his Neighbour : execute the
Judgement of Truth and Peace in your Gates :

17. And let none of you imagine evil in your hearts
against his Neighbour, and love no false Oath ;
for all these are things that I hate, saith the Lord.

Sept. 14th L O N D O N,

Printed by R. Raworth, for R. Bostock, at the
Kings head, in Pauls-Church-yard, 1645.





To the Faithfull Reader.

Christian Reader,

MAY it please thee, at this time, to receive a free and true Discourse of sundry and main occurrences of businesses, here amongst us, tendred unto thee by a reall Friend, and faithfull Servant of thine, in the Lord; who makes it a good part of his earnest study, to enquire in all seriousnesse after the truth of those things, which thus busie us all in these miserable dayes of ours, every where; (what in thoughts, what in words, what in deeds) with the motives, occasions, reasons, and ends thereof) and this forsooth not to content his vain curiosity, and meerely to feed his empty brains with notions; as many read Books and hearken after news; but, for the good of the Publike, unto the Service whereof, he freely and cheerfully devotes his pains and labours;

freedom of heart, imparts unto others, of
what he judgeth to be true, and conducing to
the good of Church and State, without
unjust partiality, or base siding with any
faction, the great disease in these our evil
dayes, of foolish and weak men: And
the principall occasion of those our great
and long sufferings, with the tedious de-
lays, and many hinderances of carrying
on the publike Work, by action in the
Field, and Counsell at home, to the bene-
fit of Church and State. This he doeth,
without regard to the persons of any who-
soever, having no intent to offend the least
by cynicall mordacitie, nor mind to curry
favour with the greatest, by insinuating
flattery, being (by Gods great mercy to-
wards him, unworthy worm) pretty free
from the chief cause of these distempers,
ordinary to most men: For, on the one
part, he knows no man who hath so far
wronged him, in his own particular, as to
moue him unto anger or wrath against the
person of any, and he hath ever thought it
contrary to good Christianity, and disso-
nant from morall honesty, to inveigh scur-
rily

relously against mens persons, as Pamphleteers do now adayes.

Wherefore, he speaketh of the failings in diuers kindes and degrees, wherewith he is highly offended, and much scandalized, of men of all ranks and conditions in both Kingdoms, without designation of their persons by name: Yea, he is so far from naming any man in particular, for his errors, that he makes mention but of a very few by name, and those with elege and praise, wishing from his heart that he had just occasion to name all those to their advantage, at whose faults he points at.

Further, he heartily bleisseth God, who in his Fatherly care towards him hitherto, (and he hopes will do so to the end, being assured that he, who giveth the principall, will not deny the accessory, if he thinks it fit for his own Glory and our good) hath provided for him wherewith to sustain his nature, without great excesse or much want, and hath schooled him both by precept and practice, to live and be content of little, and so, not being so urged by a neer nipping necessity, or imaginary poverty, as to

sell or betray the Truth for a morsell of Bread, nor so led away with the exorbitant desire of preferment or profit, as to cog in upon any terms by flattery, lying, and fain- ing with those, in whose hands, for the present, the disturbance of such things is amongst us now adayes; He dare be bold to speak home to the Point, and tell down-right the truth of things wherein the Church and State are so much concerned; not fearing to be crossed in his private interest, and put back from his hopes, by displeasing the gods.

Moreover, he preferreth the possessing of himself with calm and freedom of spirit, having his little viaticum, such as it is, simple and course, to the glistening slavery, with toiling and moiling of ambitious and covetous ones; to whatsoever hight with lustre and fair shew they attain unto, in the eyes of the World, and opinion of men, knowing that it is dear bought, with losse of time, and often of credit and conscience, and to be nothing but a meer shadow, which in a moment vanisheth.

To the performance of this usefull and necessary Duty, he conceiveth himself bound

bound in conscience, refore God and man,
for these respects and reasons;

First, Every one of us all, in our severall ranks and stations, ought, so far as in us lyeth, advance the Glory of God, and hinder whatsoever is contrary to it, or against it; for, he is the Lord our God: Then being bound to the hearty Love of our Neighbour, we ought with earnestnesse procure his true good, and hinder him from receiwing evil, or committing sin whereby evil may come upon him: This is inculcate in the Scripture over and over again; Yea, we are bidden rebuke our Brother, or Neighbour, plainly, when he sinneth, in any kinde: otherwise we are said to be haters of him; namely, we are to hinder him from walking about with lyes among the people, and from conspiring with the wicked. Read Levit. 19. 16, 17.

Next, The Church whereof we are Children, and the Countrey whereof we are Members, requireth and expecteth of us all, that with our whole power and might, we procure, in all uprightnesse and singlenesse of heart, their true good, and

same, either word or deed; thoughts being
onely known to God. To this we are not one-
ly bound at once, by a generall tie; but we
iterate and renew it from time to time,
as we receive benefits by them, or from
them, according to the ordinary practice
of us all.

Thirdly, Are we not all obliged by our
late Nationall Covenant, and sworn, to ad-
vance the setting of the Church-Reforma-
tion, according to the Word of God, and
conforme to the best Reformed Churches,
and to the setting of a solid Peace to the
good of the People, by putting forward
the Service, and opposing the open and
declared Enemy, with the crafty Malig-
nants, of whatsoever kinde; secretly un-
dermining us in the pursuance of this our
good Cause, by cabales, factions, lyes,
devises, and plots, and with whatsoever else
the wicked heart of man full of wyles for
his own and his Neighbours ruine. All these
ties and bonds are shaken off and broken by
the most part of us, either through negli-
gent lazinesse, and remisse slacknesse, not
minding them, and not having before
our

duety; or through base connivence and treacherous compliance to the wicked courses of the Enemies against the Cause, we say we maintain, I am sure at least we ought; or by open and professed Apostasie, we have joyned our hearts and affection with the Common Enemy, who so actively by all means opposeth this Cause of God, and persecuteth his people for it.

This is done both in Scotland and England, not by a few, but by many; not by little and small ones, but by the Chief and Leaders of the rest; not by stopping things of humane infirmity and weaknesse, but with study and an high hand.

Here we shall say a word or two of the carriage of those two Nations, in the going on with the Work of the Lord, for the settling of the Church, and quiet of his People. We shall begin at those of Scotland, who some few yeers ago were lifted up with praises among men, for their faithfull minding and following earnestly this great Work of God, all by-ends laid aside, for which God blessed them from Heaven,
and

and made them be called happy among men;
for they had their hearts desire in the busi-
nesse, and their Enemies were subdued by
them: But now, leaving off their former
integrity and sincerity to the Cause of God,
and their Love unto him, following the
devices and desires of their own corrupt
hearts, in pride, covetousnesse, and
factions, ~~tho~~ notwithstanding the earnest and
pressing admonitions, both in private and
publike, of the Prophets and Ministers of
God, they continue in their evil courses,
preposterously minding themselves, and
their worldly foolish interest of ambition
and avarice, more then God; and the Cause
of his Church and people. For this, God
(as it were by an essay to try them if they
would, laying aside their lewd by wayes,
mind him and his Service heartily and sin-
cerly) sends amongst them an hand-full
of contemptible, profane, and wicked
villains; whom, at first, they despise and
neglect; but, going on in their wonted
wayes, while the holy Name of God is pro-
faned by those Sons of Belial, a part of
their Land is wasted, the poor people spoil-
ed and stain, with all other barbarous
usages;

usage, and so these number and power of
the Slaves of Iniquity growing, they are
plotting, caballing, and devising how to
supplant another, and increase their severall
faction, the seed of dissension being sowed
amongst them by the Enemy, to divide,
and so more easily compasse his ends upon
them, which they would not and could not
see, blinded with their corrupt passion. Then
God, to admonish them anew, suffers some
of those, whom they had employed against
the Sons of Rebellion, to betray their trust,
and omit divers good occasions, in all ap-
pearance, to make havock of these villains,
yea, some to run over unto them in the
hour of fight: and so, these Enemies of
goodnesse, to advance their pernicious de-
signe, do what they list.

Yet, all this will not die with those hard-
hearted and stubbling men, still employ-
ing and busying their thoughts how to bear
down one another; yea, some there were
amongst them, who were not sorry in their
hearts, of the progresse that those despicable
villains made in the Countrey against the
Service of the Common Cause, conceiving
it did help to the setting up of their faction.

But,

But, since the affronts and blows, they received at divers times from those contemptible fellows, did not move these ingrate Children, God sends a Pestilence amongst them, which rageth with such fury, that hardly the like hath been heard of in that Land; to try if at last they would leave their slacknes & remissenes in pursuing the Service of the Cause of Gods Church and People, their conniving and complying with his Enemies, yea, their helping those Villains with means and advice, in opposing the Cause of God and oppressing his People. But, they remain obdured, like Children of disobedience, in their perverse wayes. So, at length, God in his wrath delivers them up to the hands of their wicked Enemies, making them as far to be scorned and misprised, for their not heartily minding him & his Service, as they had been before esteemed and extolled, for their adhering to him, and doing his Service faithfully. Yea, the Chief men of them, who had been cried up for Valour and Wisdom, are constrained to flie away, and have their lives for a prey.

So God, who from the beginning of all
those

time, had made Scotland a Mirror of his
Mercy, in testimony of its faithfulness,
adhering unto him; makes it an example
of his Justice for its back sliding from
him. And thus, Judgement begins, as
the House of God; now let England look
seriously to it; for the same very sins, which
have been committed in Scotland, and
for which it now lieth under the heavy rod
of a chastising and angry God; are now
raining in England, namely, ambition
and avarice; with many more, which have
not been seen in Scotland; example, he-
resies, errors, and Sects of all sorts, to
the dishonour of God, and to the withdraw-
ing of the People from his Truth, are con-
niv'd at and countenanced by those who are
in authority.

Then, there be some of power and cre-
dit, who are so far from furthering
the Reformation of the Church (as they
and we all are sworn to by the Covenant)
that they hinder the same, not onely by secret
undermining, and by plots; but by a conti-
nued open profession against it.

Next, There be great oppressions, vexa-
tions

to the People, by divers in Authority; the cry of all which, is as loud if not louder unto Heaven then the cry of the sins of Scotland. It may be that God, as he hath not begun so soon to shew his Mercy unto England as he did unto Scotland, will not send his Judgement upon it so speedily; yet, doubtlesse, without a serious Repentance and a true turning unto God, Judgement will come, and the longer it is a coming, the heavier it will be.

It is not the good Cause of Church and State that will do Englands turn, more then the Temple and the Law of old did save Judah from ruine; nor the same good Cause hath kept Scotland from punishment; the good Cause ill managed, by negligence, ambition, avarice, faction, self-conceit, and other vices of that kinde, draweth vengeance upon those who have the managing of it, and make the Cause to be in derision. Never good Cause hath been worse managed by the ignorance of weak ones, and the malice of other wicked.

At last, God will maintain his Cause, (no thanks to thee) without thee, for he
needs

hath been pleased to make use of thee in the Service of this his Cause, he expects faithfulness and zeal to it from thee, free from worldly and humane interest: Otherwayes vengeance is at thy door; for God, as he will not, in his Worship and Cult, have linsiey-wolsiey of mens inventions intermingled with his pure and sacred Ordinance, so he will not, in managing the Service of his Cause and of his People, that men bring in the mixture or addition of their own interest; for God will have our work wholly for himself; and if we be faithfull in it, he will not forget to give us what we need to have for our selves; otherwayes he will not onely cast us off and our work, but will curse both it and us.

Again I say, Let England take example at her Neighbour; yet I am sure God in his Judgement will remember his Mercy unto Scotland, and for his own Name sake will keep his promise unto his faithfull ones, whereof he hath a great number of all ranks and conditions in that distressed Countrey, and will not suffer this proud insulting Enemy to domineer there
over



over his poor people; far less set up again
his abominations and profane his holy
Name; but God will arise and throw his
Burnings to the dust, for it is against him
they fight, and for his sake they thus
trouble, vex, & now oppresse his People. And
although that all men, at this great last
blow, were stricken with astonishment, yet
many take courage to go on with the Service
of the Cause of God, with their whole heart
and strength, acknowledging Gods Ju-
stice in this his thus chastising them, and
confessing heartily their sins by which they
themselves provoked God to anger, and are
truly sorry, not so much for their sufferings
they now lie under, as for their offending
their good God, in whom they are resolved
to rely, and in whom they will constantly
trust, and to whom they will more dearly
submit themselves; let him deal with them
as he pleases, they are the Servants, he is
the Lord; they are the Pot, he is the Pot-
ter, they are the Creatures, and he is the
Creator, whose will is always good, not
only in self, but for us; if we be obedient
and faithful unto him. But, I will hold thee
here no longer. So recommending thee to
God, I go to the Discourse it self. A



A short and true Relation of divers passages of things, wherein the *Scots* are par- ticularly concerned, from the first beginning of these troubles, to this day.

IT is not unknown to men of understanding ; how that, many sinistrous reports , one after another, raised of the *Scots* (for their faithfulness & constancy to the Cause of Religion and Liberty, in these Dominions) by Malignants, that is, by Atheists, Libertines, Papists, Prelatists, and Sectaries of all kindes, officiating in their severall wayes for the Common Enemy , and spread abroad by the contrivers thereof, with the help of their instruments, Agents , and Favourers ; then received by the simpler sort , not knowing the truth of things, lesse the drift of the Malignants , in these calumnies ; otherwayes well-meaning people, (for the truth is no sooner made known unto them, but they willingly lay hold on it ; and being admonished of the pernicious designe of the adversaries , they do abhorre and detest both it and them :) hath done, and yet doeth
A great

great prejudice, according to the intent of the Enemy, unto the service now in hand, of the Common Cause of Church and State, these two inseparable twins, which both Kingdoms do now maintain, and intend to do unanimously with heart and hand, as they stand bound and united to lay aside all other and former ties, by the Nationall Covenant, through the great Providence of God, in mercy to both, so that they prove faithfull and constant to this Cause of his and of his people, according to the said Covenant, against all opposition whatsoever, whether by declared and open war, or by clandestine and indirect undermining.

Wherefore, after long forbearance with grief of mind, and compassion to see faithfull men and earnest in this Common Cause, so maliciously traduced, and, in them, the good Cause so much wronged; as likewise, so many well-affected men to the said Cause, so grossly abused by crafty lyes, and impudent untruths: I have thought fit, for the good and service of the Common Cause, to the advancement whereof, every one is obliged to contribute according to what he hath, as he will answer one day to him, whose Cause first and principally it is, to undeceive many well-minded men, and to right, in some measure, those faithfull men to the Cause, who are so wickedly slandered, in giving unto the publike this true and short Discours; whereby the truth of divers things will be made more known, lyes in a kind repressed, and the service of the Common Cause somewhat furthered; at least it will not be so far kept back, as it hath hitherto been by these undermining courses.

And the rather do I undertake this task, that those in a manner are silent, by whom most men do expect the clear truth of things of this kinde not so generally known, should be conveyed to all by a particular

ticular publication of them in writing; to the end that this course of so maliciously lying against trusty men may be stopped, and the well meaning men no longer thus abused. But these, of whom men look for performance of this duty, going about the main work they are come hither for in all earnestnesse, and singlenesse of heart, with care and diligence, and not without a great deal of drudging to and from, as faithfull and trusty labourers, do take but little notice of this wicked practise of their and the cause its Enemies, by lyes, howsoever industriously devised, and cunningly set forth, as altogether below them, chosing rather that their own good carriage, with constant resolution, and faithfull endeavours, and that of their Country-men engaged with them in the same businesse, although in another way, in sincerity of heart, advancing the publike work now in hand, should speak for them both, then either a flourishing tongue, or a nimble pen.

Here, although I value much the goodnesse of these men to relye rather upon their own & their Countreymens honesty and integrity, in and about the work, then upon the setting forth of any Declaration, by writing of their own and their friends faithfull proceedings, and fair carrying on of things, in the publike service: Yet, in this I cannot esteem their prudence; for, albeit native beauty ought not to be set forth by painting and patches, being compleat in it self; yet it must be kept free from spots and dirt, and made seen unto all, under a modest and comely dressing, by which means it is more pleasing and better liked of every one.

And although where there is no fault, no Apologie ought to be made, yet, to make the truth openly known, (when it is disguised) for the information of those who take things meerly upon trust; and to

stop the going on of wicked men with lyes, is not only an Act of Wisdom, but of Piety, yea, of Necessity, if men will not abandon the interest of a good cause to the malice of the Enemies thereof: and, as it is said by the wise man, *Thou art not to answer a fool according to his folly*, that is, in exorbitancy, &c. lest in so doing thou become like unto him; even so by the same wise man thou art ordained to answer a fool as is fit and convenient, for the repressing of his folly, lest he think himself wise, and so go on in his evil course, to the dishonour of God the Father of truth, and to the prejudice of both Church and State, who are to be directed by the truth. Surely, if ever at any time the lye and calumny of the fool (for so I call the calumniator, how cunningly soever he lyeth) is to be repressed with a fit answer, it is at this time, when there lieth so much at the stake, in both Kingdoms, as Religion and Libertie, with whatsoever else is, or ought to be dear unto men.

Now then, to answer unto the calumnies of those Malignants, & to make the simple truth known to all, is absolutely necessary at this occasion, to the end that not onely the Lier may find his craft to be folly, but also his wicked intent to be disappointed, which is no lesse then a breach betwixt the two Nations, and hath been such from the beginning; and consequently the ruine of both, now so united and joyned in the common interest of Church and State, that they must sink or swim together; for if they should once devide, as the one doubtlesse will be presently undone; so the end of the other will not be far off. Wherefore he that doth any evil office, to raise or increase jealousie betwixt them, under whatsoever pretext, is worse then any open Enemy, and what he intends to the publike, will come upon himself, that is, ruine, with disgrace.

But, me thinks I hear you, whom I blame
for

for silence in so necessary a case ; and so need-
full a time , say , *We have not been wanting in this ve-
ry thing you find fault with :* For we have con-
stantly and diligently communicated all things of any
moment, freely and ingeniously, in all truth and sim-
pleness of heart, to some chief leading men, our par-
ticular good friends, upon whom we have relyed,
from our first hither-coming, in all things concern-
ing us and our Countrey-men, employed in the ser-
vice, to the end that they should convey the truth of
businessse, as in discretion they thought fit, and
did see cause, for the publike good, and for the
right of us their friends, to the Houses, and from
thence to the publike.

To this I answer, You have mistaken the right
way, Sirs, for you should have made your addres-
ses to the whole Parliament, or at least to the Com-
mittee appointed by the Parliament to hear you,
consult with you, in a word, to deal or treat with
you of all things, wherein you and they are
jointly concerned; and not suffer your selves to be
engrossed by some few, howsoever they be Prime
men: and what do you know, if by thus suffering
your selves to be as it were led by them, hath not in-
creased their credit? For men may say, that they have
reason to follow those, by whom you of so much repu-
tation of wisdom and resolution, are guided, &c.
Further, should not you have thought, that particular
men, howsoever they serve the publike, have ordinari-
ly particular ends of ambition and avarice, which the
publike cannot have? And although those your friends
be free of these distempers, yet you are not assured
of their constancy unto you; for many things fall
out betwixt man and man, which makes them not
onely fall from intimacy of one with another, but
makes them adverse and opposite one to another often-
times.

times. And, although your friends be free of this infirmity; Are you wise men to relie upon others, for doing the things you should do your selves without a Procure? He that trusteth another to do a thing fitting for himself to do, must expect to have the thing done, if at all done, neither so timely, nor so well, at least not so soon, nor so to his mind, as is it falleth out often: of extraordinary occasions and occurrences, there is no certain rule.

Next, I know, you will say, *We have acquainted the Houses of Parliament to the full, with the truth of all things, by our severall papers given unto them at divers times, upon divers occasions, and we have made known unto the Synode what concerneth Church-busineses, and so we think we have done enough in this.*

But give me leave, Sirs, under favour, herein also you are hugely mistaken; you do well to communicate freely and carefully unto the Houses of Parliament all things, and to acquaint them with your proceedings, wherein they have common interest with you, for the publike service of Church and State, in these Dominions; I hope they do so with you, at least, they ought to do it, for the common good of both; otherwayes, the work wherein both Kingdoms are so ingaged, and you both are employed, will go but slowly and limpingly on: Yet this is not enough; for, first, the main passages of publike things done, and the chief reasons of the doing thereof, are to be made known to the whole Church and State, since the whole hath the chief interest in things common to all: although you are to communicate your counsels, deliberations, and conclusions of things to be done, for fear of miscarriage, onely to the Trustees of Church and State, as your selves are: Yet I say again, what, is *de facto* concerning all, must be made known

known to all; for the Trustees of the State and Church, are not Lords of them, as Kings and Popes pretend to be; but servants, as they avouch themselves, set on work by them, for the good of both, upon trust, which if they betray, they are double Traitors: First, they falsifie their truth to the State and Church, whereof they are Members and Children, and unto whom they owe all under God. Next, they betray the trust imposed upon them, for the good and benefit of both Church and State. Yea, the Houses of Parliament themselves, shew you the way how to carry your selves in this very particular; for they, not onely for the satisfaction of the whole Kingdom, cause publish the things done by those whom they, as Trustees, have employed to carry on the service of the publike in the Fields; but also, they publish unto the Kingdom Declarations of their honest intentions, and fair proceedings, with Votes and Ordinances, for the good of Church and State: And I am sure, the Trustees of your Nation for your Church and State, have done so, from the beginning, in your particular troubles; and that, not onely to your own Countrey, but also to your neighbour, which hath done no harme, neither to the advancement of your affaires at home, nor to your reputation abroad.

Although the Houses of Parliament rest satisfied in themselves of the honesty of your proceedings: Yet this giveth but small satisfaction unto the Kingdom.

Yea, when you send in your papers to the Houses, it may happen that divers Members are absent at the time, and so remain as ignorant of your affaires, as before the in-giving of the papers; for the Houses are so taken up with other thoughts and busineses, that they cannot acquaint the absents

with your own affaires; yea, some who are present in the Houses, at the reading of your papers, are carried of their attention unto you, by divers distractions, and so receive but small knowledge by them: Far lesse can the Houses take leasure to publish your affaires unto the world; yea, I know not if in rigour they are tyed to do it. Although I confesse, it would be a good turn for the publike, and a brotherly office, if they would take the pains to do, or cause do it: howsoever, I am sure, the Houses are not so obliged to this duty, as your selves are; neither although they were, can they do it so fully as you, not being so particularly acquainted with things.

In a word, in duty you ought to make known unto the publike your own proceedings, and these of your Countrey-men, employed in the service of the Common Cause; that it may be made manifest what good you have done alone, either by counsell in the Houses, or by action in the Field; what you have been assistants in, and what you ever have been willing to do, and are still minded to do, providing you be not stopped; and if you have been stopped, let it be declared where the fault lieth, and not you bear the burden of other mens mistakes and errors.

Next, is it not fit, that it be published what you have done for such vast summes of money raised upon the publike for your use, as is given out, and how much you have received of it? that if you have received all, you may make known what you have done for all; and if you have received more then your due, you are in conscience and honour to do the publike the service you are pay'd for beforehand: as likewise, if you have not received all which is raised for you, that it may be known how much of it is wanting, and enquiry may be made what is become of

of the rest ; and so , if you make it appear unto the world , that there is much still due unto you of your pay , far above what you have received ; then all honest people , being truly informed of things , will approve your faithfull and fair carriage , acknowledge your love and kindnesse , thank God for your help and assistance at such an exigence , and be heartily civill unto you , till God enable them to recompence you for your faithfull pains , according to your just deserts and their earnest desires ; and so things will redound to your credit and advantage .

You may know and feel all this , what I have been saying unto you , to be true , according to sense and reason , by one seule instance , to lay aside all others at this time :

And it is this of the papers you gave into the Houses , about the latter end of *May* last , upon occasion of high murmurings against you , in and about the Houses , by information of Malignants , which gave abundant satisfaction to so many of both Houses , as either heard it them read (as is well known) or read them themselves with attention : But , others of the Houses , who are not acquainted with your papers , partly not hearing them , although present when perhaps they are delivered in , by reason of their other thoughts ; partly being absent , at that time , remained still ignorant of your affaires , and possessed with calumnies against you : Far more the rest of the Kingdom .

After some dayes , one Copy of these your papers having fallen , by chance , in the hands of a well-wisher to the Cause , and no enemy of yours , was published under the name of *the Scots Manifest* , without your knowledge , which hath done more despite to the Enemies of the Truth , than any thing you have done this long time , and more right unto you then you
looked

looked for, yea; nor your silence deserved; yet not so much as is needfull for you and your friends; for it did stop the mouths of the wicked calumniators, and inform many well-meaning men: and divers Members of the Houses there were, who had not heard of such a thing, before it was printed; to say nothing of the generality of the people, every where. Yea, I am told, it went beyond Sea, and there stopped the mouths of Malignants, and gained those who were indifferent, and confirmed your friends.

But what, you will say, *Must the hid things or Mysteries of State be divulged?* No, I do not mean it, nor do I say it; For I leave the Mysteries of State to the Mystes thereof; Onely my simple meaning and honest desire is, that these things which are not, and ought to be, made known to all, be not kept in a mist by a mysterious prudency, but communicated to the publike; such are the things *de facto*, and of reason, wherein all are concerned: and these are the things I spake of.

Besides, you must think, there be many men not particularly employed in the publike Service, who have both hearts and brains, to serve the Common Cause; but cannot do it, while all is thus kept in a cloud, as in the *Romish Church*, where the Mystes think all men idiots but themselves, and keep from the people the things of God.

Then you will say, to tell plainly and openly, *The Truth, perhaps, will not be pleasing to all, yea, perchance not to some of our fellow-Labourers.* My advice is not, that you say or write any thing, in intention to displease the least of men, far lesse to displease these your Fellow-Labourers: But let Truth be said above all things, when the publike requires it for its service; and

and we our selves are bound upon our own credit to do it. Be angry who will; God keep me from neglect and contempt, for lying or suppressing the Truth; I fear not anger for any publishing of Truth: He that is not bold to publish the Truth, for timorousnesse, belyeth his own knowledge, and I dare say, betrayeth the Truth. You that are trusted with the carriage of things, in Truth, and for the Truth, are not onely bound to make known the truth of what you do and say, to the world, as it hath been said; but, further you are obliged in conscience, and the publike expects it of you, that you presse home the Truth with vigour & resolution, in all freedom, down-right, in all places, and at all occasions, where you meet for consultation, deliberation, debate, and conclusion of things concerning Church or State, in Politike and Ecclesiastike Assemblies; and in so doing, you will gain the price, having all honest men to stand to you; and will put such a terrour in Malig-nants, that their malice will be much abated.

Surely, I am perswaded, had you been stouter in the Synode, these strong heads, and factious few ones, who hitherto have troubled the settling of Church-affaires, and are likely to trouble the State, if it be not well looked to and neerly, had long ere now been quashed; and so, if you had not been so meal-mouthed with the sollicitme in reason, of the time and place, *I humbly conceive* you had not met with so many rubs in your publike meetings, nor had your wholesome counsels found such opposition, nor your men of war been so kept off Field action. All which hath not onely done prejudice to the publike Service; but hath brough: things to great hazard, yea, almost to the undoing of all: But, God in his mercy hath turned the balance, no thank to your remissenesse, wherein God sheweth, although men will not do what they ought
and

and can do for his Service, upon I cannot tell what consideration, he will do the work of men, by no men.

When I think on *John Knox*, and *George Buchanan*, how freely they spoke and writ, at all times, and upon all occasions, when the Church and State were concerned, without fear of any man or Assembly whatsoever; having nothing before their eyes, but the glory of God, and the good of his people. They were weak and infirm men, as we are all; but their stout zeal to the publike was admirable, and is ever to be remembred by us; not onely to their praise, but also to spur us up to imitate them in this heroike vertue. For me, I value the zeal and stoutnesse of these two Champions of the Truth, more than all their other vertues, howsoever eminent they were.

But, you will say, *It is now another age, and consequently another way of carriage of things is required.* It is true, we live now in another age, which is worse than that of these men: Wherefore, we must then strive with greater zeal and vertue, to oppose the wickednesse of this time; For although, by a prudentiall preventing and declining, by clear-seeing men, many plots and devises of the wicked, may be for a time shunned: Yet, there is no way to make the wicked leave or weary of resisting and oppressing goodnesse, but by a vigorous and stout opposing of them.

Besides, although the Cards be new we play with all; yet it is the same very Game that our Fathers had in *Scotland*, and our Neighbours had lately, in our dayes, in *France*; Where and when nothing did prevaile, or do good unto the Cause, but resolution and zeal in carrying on the things, not onely against the Common Enemy; but also, against the
false

false Friends, and they that walked then any other way, betrayed the Cause, and purchased unto themselves the title of silly inconsiderable men, of whatsoever rank or degree they were.

To say nothing of the judgement of God that fell upon them, and to this day hangs upon them and theirs. I shun examples in this case; for I love to reprove faults, and spare mens persons.

Moreover, since the Malignants, every where, are so busie running to and fro, like so many Bees, with great care and heat, and so bold, to forge and invent lyes, by word and writing, to abuse the World, and so wrong treacherously the publike Service:

Why should not then faithfull men be diligent and stout, in all freedom, to make known the truth of things, for the confirming of the well-affected, and for stopping of the mouth of the wicked, and so consequently, for the better carrying on of the work now in hand?

Now, being thus friendly and freely admonished by one who wisheth well to the Common Cause you now serve, with his whole heart, and unto your selves in particular, in so far as you are faithfull and earnest, zealous and stout in this Cause of God and his people, laying aside all humane prudence, which is not subservient to zeal and stoutnesse, as well as to faithfulness and earnestnesse: I hope you will take care to minde this slip, by giving unto the publike a true and free relation of all things from time to time, as the occasion shall require; and in your meetings, about Church and State, to be stout and free, for the advancing of the publike Service to the glory of God, to the good of his people, and to the contentment and satisfaction of well-affected men, in despite of malignancy.

In the interim, till you perform this duty, give
me

me leave, in this place, plainly and homely to put unto the view of the World, the relation of some things of speciall note, hardly well known to many, at least taken notice of but by a few, concerning the carriage of the *Scots* ever since the very first beginning of these unhappy troubles to this day: the knowledge whereof, will do good, I am sure, to the publike Service, and will help to right, in some measure, men both faithfull and constant in the Work: Yea, the commemoration of these things, although known, I am perswaded, will give content to all honest and well-meaning men, unto whom the publike good is dearer than the interest of any particular man whatsoever, with whom they ought to go along no further than the particular man goeth on with the publike of Church and State, laying aside all other relation. As for other men, I value them no more than the open declared enemies, who preferre the pleasure of one abused Prince, under pretext of obligation they have to him, unto the good of Church and State.

And thus I begin. The Common Enemy having designe to bring these Dominions under spirituall and temporall slavery, all things disposed for his ends, according to his mind; thinks fit for his purpose to begin this great work in *Scotland*, promising unto himself to find least opposition there, for reasons which hitherto, by Gods mercy, hath deceived him.

The *Scots* being pressed to receive the corrupt *Liturgie*, (to say nothing in this place, of what was before put upon them) fairly decline it, by iterate supplications and humble remonstrances unto the King: But nothing will do the turn, they must receive the Prelats Master-Peece, and *Romes* essay, the *New-Annis-Service-Book*, either by fair play or foul.

The

The *Scots* on the other side, constant to their principles, refuse to receive the Book; for which they are published by the Prelats and the Court, to be refractaries and rude fellows, without God or Religion: Which gave occasion to the *Scots* to make known, not onely unto their own people, at home; but, to all men abroad; namely, to their Brethren of *England*, by a publike Declaration, their condition, how they were wronged, the equity of their Cause, their lawfull proceedings, and their good intentions: by this means, their friends good will is confirmed unto them, and their enemies designe, in some measure, is broken; who did intend, by lyes, to steal from them the good affection of their friends.

Next, The *Scots* being constrained to have recourse to the Sword, for their just defence, all other means tryed failing, were back-bitten as mutinous, taking Arms for poverty, with intention to cast off the just Authority of their Native and lawfull Prince, and to invade *England* for the spoile thereof.

To these most pernicious calumnies, the *Scots* replyeth by another Declaration, particularly addressed unto *England*; whereby, they made known the absolute necessity of their taking up Arms, with their honest intentions therein: All which, they made good thereafter, in due time, by reall performance.

For, so soon as they had occasion to shew their respect to the King, they did it, with all readinesse and submission; and when they might have undone the Kings Army, and consequently invaded *England*, if they had pleased, and that with small opposition, instead of doing wrong to any *English*, they supplied the wants of those who were come against them, with Victuals, which then did abound in the *Scots* Army, but was very short in the Kings; & having the flower of the Kings Army in their power,
I mean

I mean the party that went to *Dunslaw*; they suffered it to return back in safety, and used it with all civility, notwithstanding these chosen ones had come against promise, and without cause, to destroy them, and to invade the Countrey.

Thereafter, the Peace being made, the *Scots* according to the agreement, went quietly home, and laid down their Arms, as was promised.

Then the Plot the abused King and his good Counsell had at *Berwick*, to draw the Chief men of *Scotland* to him, for to destroy them; and the breach of the Parlement; the burning in *London* of the Articles of agreement made at the borders, and many other like things, did not move the *Scots*, to recede in any measure from their dutifull respects to the King, nor from their love to the *English* Nation; neither the imprisonment of their Commissioners, against the Law of Nations, and the safe-conduct granted unto them upon publike Faith; nor the great Forces prepared against them, by Sea and by Land; nor the many lyes spread against them, through all *England*; nor the Prelatical excommunication so canonically spewed out against them, in all the Churches and Chappels of *England*: All these things, I say, did not make them give the least expression of disrespect to the King, nor disaffection to the *English*.

Upon this, the *Scots* published a Declaration anew unto the World, whereby they made known unto all, how hardly they were dealt withall; for, not onely the things stipulated with them, were not kept to them; but also, more and greater wrongs than formerly, were done to them: Yea, a second expedition of War undertaken to destroy them; and to fill up all, more lyes of no lesse importance, than the conquering of *England*, made and spread abroad of them, with other thunderbolts

bolts of the Poplicall censur, shot against them:
 Also, they make known by this Declaration, their
 Christian resolution, and just enterprise; with
 their good intentions in taking Arms again, for
 their own defence, and the Cause which they main-
 tain. And by it, assureth their Brethren of England,
 although they were resolved to come into their Coun-
 trey to seek out their Enemies, who were there gathe-
 ring against them; and not to suffer these wicked
 ones to come unto them, and so make their own
 Countrey the Seat of the unhappy War: Yea, they
 had not the least thought to do any hurt to any body
 in England, except to their professed Enemies: So far
 were they from having the least thought of making a
 conquest. And that, when they had brought their
 Enemies to reason, they would go home in Peace.

All which, was thereafter performed by the Scots
 to the full: For, first, being entered into England,
 and having encountered one party of their Enemies,
 and routed it; when it was in their power to pub-
 lish the Visitation, they stayed at New-castle till things
 were agreed upon, betwixt the King and them.

This introming of the Scots, gave occasion and
 liberty to divers of the Nobles of England, (of
 whom, some since have been) & the Cause of God, &
 of his people; what by open Warfare, and what by
 clandestine undermining:) to desire, of the King,
 a Parliament for the good of the Kingdom. The King
 then durst not refuse their demand, by reason of the
 Scots, more than the continuance of it, which he
 granted likewise thereafter, for the same Cause.

Then the King; finding that the Parliament did
 not onely cross, but quite spoile his designs; he
 plot with his Army; which he had raised against the
 Scots, to come and destroy the said Parliament, and
 to take the spoile of London, for their reward. But
 the

the businesse being discovered, faileth; besides, they durst not undertake, howsoever they had promised, for fear of the *Scots*, who then were so near.

The King continuing in his wonted courses, after a little pause, tryes the *Scots* if they will do the deed; and offers unto them for recompense, not onely the spoile of *London*, but also the foure Counties next adjacent unto their Countrey, to be adjoynd hereafter to it, with Jewels of great value in pawn for performance, if onely they would be engaged into the businesse.

All these great offers, could not make the *Scots* willing to give their consent in any kinde to this wickednesse: For, they not onely rejected the Kings offers; but also, giveth notice of the Plot, to the Parliament, and to the City of *London*, that they might make their best use of it.

So, you may see, how that the *Scots*, under God, are the cause of the Assembling of the Parliament, of the continuance of it, being assembled, and of the preservation of it, from rotall destruction and ruine.

The King, seeing that he was stopped by the *Scots*, first, in their own Countrey; next, in *England*, to carry on his great designe, takes the *Irish* Papists by the hand, rather then be alwayes disappointed; and they willingly undertake to levie Armes for his Service, that is, for the *Romish Cause*; the Kings designe being subservient to the *Romish Cause*; although he abused thinks otherwayes, and beleeves that Rome serveth to his purpose. But, to begin the Work, they must make sure all the *Protestants*; and, if they cannot otherwayes, by Murthering and Massacring them; for they knew them, according to the Principles of Religion and State, to be forward, either for the *Covenanters of Scotland*, or for the troublesome Parliament,

liament of *England*, if not for both. But the *Irish*, neither would, nor durst enter to any open Action; so long as the *Scots* Army, in *England*, was afoot; therefore by all means, it must be sent home and cashiered: and to facilitate the businesse, the Court-Paralites; Instruments of Iniquity; with their Emissaries, must raise and spread abroad, jealousies of the *Scots*, among the people of the Countrey and City, namely in and about the Houses of Parliament; who having not before their eyes, the reall Honesty and Integrity of the *Scots*, known by so many faithfull and loyall expressions; and not keeping in their mind the many good offices done to them by the *Scots*; giveth, in sillinesse of mind, ear and place to the crafty tales and apprehensions, invented by the Agents of the Common Enemy, to bring them to confusion and trouble.

So the Plot taketh by the silly ones, and is set forward by the hid *Malignants*. Yea, in a word, it is managed with such addresse and successe, that the *Scots* must go home; and till they had done it, there could be no quiet, but increase of jealousies.

The *Scots*, although they were not acquainted with the hight of mischief that was intended against the Church and State in these Dominions, by the Common Enemy, nor with the wayes of it; yet, albeit they thought it very dangerous, after so many attempts of evil doing by the Enemy to retire them from *England*, not as yet well settled; and to cashier their Army, remitting the event of things to God, resolve to return home, and dismisse their Army, and so make known unto all the World their Candour and Integrity, and to take away all jealousies, both from the King and from *England*; which they do according to promise, not failing in the least circumstance, yea, not of the day.

Well, the King having gained this point, to send

home the *Scotts*, and to make them lay down their Arms, resolveth to follow them into *Scotland*, and to trie once more to draw them to his designe; no perswasion being able to stay or to stop his voyage: he goeth in haste from *London*, and overtaketh the *Scotts* as they were upon their removall from *New-castle* for *Scotland*: He vieweth their Army by the way, and talketh with the Prime Officers thereof: He giveth Order to some of the good Physicians about him, to feel the pulse of the *Scotts* softly, but they found the *Scotts* pulse did not beat as they could have wished. He goeth on in his journey into *Scotland*, whither he is no sooner arriv'd, but he puts another designe a-foot, premeditated with many more before: for, it is the custome of the wise Court, to have, at one and the same time, divers undertakings in designe, of which, it is a very hard matter, if one or other do not take effect. Yea, they have found but too true, to our wofull experience, that many have taken effect, and that not of the lesser ones, wherefore the Court will never cease to devise and invent enterprises.

The Plot then set a-foot by the K. in *Scotland*, was to make a considerable Party there for his ends: and to make the businesse more facile, he resolveth to make sure the Chief men of *Scotland*, who were likely either to stop the designe, or not further it. But, this Plot is also discovered, and so it failed. The next recourse was to the *Irish* Papists, his good Friends, unto whom, from *Scotland*, a Commission is dispatched, under the Great Seal (which Seal was at that instant time, in the Kings own custody) of that Kingdom, to hasten, according to former agreement, the raising of the *Irish* in Arms; who no sooner receive this new Order, but they break out, and at the first beginning of their Rebellion, declared that they had no ill will against any *Scotts* in *Ireland*, for they were afraid

afraid of the *Scots* going over to the help of their Country-men, and so they would be stopped to go on with their Work; but their spleen was against these *English Protestants*, who were Friends to that wicked *Parliament* in England, so untoward to the good King; and so adverse to their *Catholike Cause*.

This Declaration of the *Irish*, did not (although in favour of their Country-men) hinder the *Scots* to offer their present Service, for the repressing of the Rebellion before things grew worse; The King fairly refused the offer, and answering with verball thanks, said that he neither could, nor would do any thing in the businesse, without the advice and assistance of the *Parliament*, now afoot in England; whereunto he was to repaire in all haste. So he leaveth *Scotland*, saying that every day he stayed there, was the losse of a Country to him. He cometh to *London*, a little before *Christmas*; the Rebellion having begun in *Ireland* in *October*: But he goe's very seldom to the *Parliament*, and when he goeth thither, he sayeth nothing concerning the *Irish* Rebellion, till by importunity he was constrained to it; and then what he said, was little, cold, and ambiguous. And when the *Scots*, by their Commissioners, who had followed him from *Scotland* hither, did offer again a considerable help of ten thousand men, things were so carried, both in the Counsell and in the *Parliament*, by the corrupt and ignorant Party then, that the *Scots* were delayed from day to day, by one shift or other, for a long space, before that conditions could be agreed upon with them, for the sending of their help unto *Ireland*. And it was a longer time after the agreement, before things could be furnished unto them, for their Voyage.

By those means, the Rebels had ado with lesse opposition; and consequently, with lesse difficulty carried

carried on their barbarous Work of spoiling, burning, and massacring innocent people of all rank and condition, without regard to sex or age.

The *Scots* are no sooner gone to *Ireland*, but they assist their Friends with such affection and success, that after some skirmishes and rencounters with the Rebels, the *North Countrey of Ireland*, whereunto their help was particularly assigned, became pretty well cleared of the Rebels, although much wasted and and spoiled by them.

In this course, hath the *Scots* continued to this day, constantly opposing these bloody wretches, notwithstanding the change that hath fallen in the *South* part of that Kingdom, by the treachery of those whom the Parliament employed and trusted to. Then when the King made a Cessation with these barbarous Cannibals, the *Scots* resolutely declared against it, and have manfully opposed it to this day: Without which opposition of the *Scots*, it had been received every where in *Ireland*, and the Rebels then, having nothing to do at home, had come hither in Bands and Troups into this Island.

Thus did and still doth the *Scots* pursue their Point, notwithstanding all the hardship they have suffered, and yet suffer in the Service, partly by reason of the great troubles here of the Parliament, not being able to supply their Friends, as they would, and as they need; partly by the negligence and unfaithfulness of those, who have been employed by the Parliament, and intrusted to have a care of supplying this need; which hath been so great, that the *Scotts Army in Ireland*, had absolutely starved for cold and hunger, if they had not been helped from *Scotland*, in a high measure.

To return unto *England*: The misled King having left the Parliament, accompanied, or at least followed by

by numbers of men of divers degrees; Traytors to God and to their Countrey; namely by those double Traytors, who were Members of the Houses of Parliament: for, they not onely have been dishonest and unfaithfull to the Church and State; whereof they are born Members and Children; but, they have betray'd the trust wherewith they were trusted in both. By the assistance of which, he sets his designe on foot, to make open War against the Parliament, (although under a hid notion) to destroy it; all other Devices and Plots, contrived by him and his, having failed as we have seen.

Upon this, the *Scots*, in their respect to the King, love unto their Brethren in *England*, and above all, in their affection to the Cause of the Church of God, send Commissioners unto the King, and from him to the Parliament, as the occasion should serve. They found the King at *York*, where he was pulling his Sword out of its sheath, with all his might, and shaping it in all haste, which God in his Jugements hath suffered him to thrust in the bowels of so many thousands of his people, here, so unnaturally and barbarously; not onely afar off, by not stopping it, by connivence or by Commission to his Agents and Instruments, as in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; but being present in Person, and taking pleasure in doing of it in his own sight, and seeing of it done.

In this place I do affirm, that there hath been more *Christian Blood* shed in these latter yeers, under the end of *K. James* and *K. Charles* Raigns, by their Commissions, Approbations, connivences, and not-forbidding, what at home, and what abroad, all which upon the matter they might have stopped, if it had been their pleasure, then were in the time of the ten *Roman Persecutions*. God turn the Kings heart towards him first, otherwayes he will never turn it toward his people.

The Scots, as we were saying, send to him, to desire him to leave off the designe of embroiling himself and the people in a Civill War, in this Kingdom of England; wishall, to offer him their dutifull Service of Mediation and Intercession, for the taking away of all mistakes, and smoothing of things in a fair way, betwixt him and the Parliament. The misled King resolved to go on in evil courses; nor onely neglects the respective and hearty offer of the Scots; but sends them home, not suffering them to come unto the Parliament, according to their order and desire, which was to trye all fair means for the hindering of a War in England, and to stop the Massacres in Ireland.

The King having thus dismissed the Scots, goes to his Work, which, having overcome some rubs at the first, he carrieth on apace; for having gathered together considerable Forces at Shrewsbury, from thence with his Army he marches towards London; notwithstanding the Parliaments-Army lay, as it were, in his way, who met with him at Edge-hill, and (contrary to his expectation) fights with him. He, after the Battel, having re-collected the remnant of his men, although he had had the worse, continues his designe for London, and drew very neer unto it; but being, by strong hand, constrained to retire, he goeth to Oxford, where he hath kept his Court constantly ever since till this day.

The Scots seeing the commotions increasing in England, and considering the chief Instruments of those evils, could not in conscience and honesty, sit quiet any longer, and neither say nor do, while the State and Church of their Brethren in England, were thus in so great troubles; send first a Commissioner from their Church unto the Parliament, to desire them, that as God, in his good Providence, had fur-

fulfilled them just occasion to cast out the Prelates from among them; not onely as unusefull Members of their Assembly; but also, as Enemies to all their just proceedings for the good of Church and State; so they would be pleased to thrust out these Tyrants and belly-gods from the Church, as main Instruments of all the disturbances, troubles, and miseries which are come, and of more, in all appearance, yet coming, if God in his mercy prevent them not.

The Commissioner, after some debate, having obtained his demand, returneth homeward, and taking his way by the Court, then about *Shrewsbury*, made known to the King how he had sped in his errand, wherewith he had acquainted him before, as he was going to the Parliam. And he desireth the King to give his consent unto the casting of the Prelates out of the Church, as he had done to the putting them out of the Assembly of Parliament. To which the King did reply little or nothing; but he told the Commissioner, that he, and they who sent him, were hugely mistaken, if they did think that the Houses of Parliament doth intend any Reiled Reformation, namely, as in *Scotland*; for, said he, you see how they do not repress the Schismes and Sects of all kinds, which abound in and about *London*; yea, these evils are countenanced by some under-hand. Would to God that the Commissioner had had as just reason then, to answer unto the King, that he had been misinformed, and that an anacuth had been told him concerning Sectaries, as he hath been mistaken in the intention of both Houses of Parliament, for the settling Religion, according to the best way, as it expressed in the National Covenant.

Then, after that things, by degrees, had come to a great height betwixt King and Parliament, much blood being shed, not onely in skirmishes and rencounters,

counters, but also in pitched Battel, to wit, at *Edge hill*. The *Scots* not being able to forbear any further, to try once more by fair means, if it were possible, to stop the course of those miseries, too far already gone on, send word to the King, then at *Oxford*, and to the Parliament, of their good intentions; and demand a passe and safe-conduct from both, for Commissioners from them, to go unto both, and return home, as also to go to and fro betwixt them as cause should require. Of the Parliament, they had easily what they demanded, with thanks for their good will: But the King, not liking their offer, was loth to grant a passe; yet being put to it, he could not fairly deny, and so at length, after some reluctancy, he sends a passe as was desired, and safe-conduct to the *Scots*; which being received, they send their Commissioners straight to the King, unto whom they remonstrate home how that he had, by bad Counsell, cast himself in a Labyrinth of Evil, and the people of his Dominions; which, doubtlesse, would bring both him and them to utter ruine, if not timely stopped in Gods Mercy, by his Wisdom and good Counsell.

The Commissioners, instead of any positive answer, receive nothing but doubts, ambiguities, delays, and shifts, whereof nothing could be made, but that the misled King was resolved to his own and his peoples ruine.

After a time, the *Scots* Commissioners told the King, that, according to their Order and Instructions, they intended to go unto the Parliament; which they hoped he would think well of, and approve. But the King, notwithstanding the passe and safe-conduct he had granted them to that purpose, would not suffer them to go unto the Parliament; yea, they were not permitted to speak with the Commissioners from the Parliament, who were then sent
thither

thither to the Court to treat when they were there. Such was the adverseness of the Court to Peace, notwithstanding all the Kings Protestations.

Further, the *Scots* Commissioners were so hardly used by the Court, namely, by the Prelaticall crew, that they could not in safety go openly and freely abroad.

This is not all. At that time the Rulers of the Court send abroad their Agents, to tell every where, namely, in and about *London*, what indignity the *Scots* did offer, first unto the King, then unto the Parliament, and to the whole *English* Nation, by taking upon them (being but Subjects) to examine the differences betwixt the King and Parliament, to compose them, and to make a Peace; it being more honourable both for the King, and Parliament, and the whole Nation, to be beholden for this unto a Neighbour-State or Prince, then unto the Kings own Subjects, nor so good as others in many respects.

As this Discourse was invented, and spewed up and down by *Malignants*, so it was received by the simpler sort, not knowing the interest of States, lesse, wherein the true Honour of Princes, States, and Nations consisteth: Yet, they might have considered, that it is better to take up things quietly at home, then to trouble the Neighbours with our affaires.

The *Scots* Commissioners, after some Moneths abode at Court, seeing they could do no good with the abused King, desire him to dismiss them, which he did put off from day to day, till at last he was written to by the State of *Scotland*, that if he sent not home in safety the Commissioners betwixt such and such a day, they would hold it as an open breach of the Peace, and that they would provide for businesses accordingly.

Upon

Upon this the Commissioners, laden with fair, but conditionall promises from the King (who yet would not anger them) of Love and Care of that his Native Kingdom, so that they would be quiet, (for he could not stop his mouth to say unto them, that if they would not stirre, he could easily compasse his ends in *England*) take their leave at Court, and go home. At their arrivall, they find a number, in the South-West of their Countrey, of *Papists* and other *Malignants*, men of broken fortunes, risen to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, by Order from the King, notwithstanding his fair words; which commotion was presently quashed, through Gods Mercy, by the diligence and forwardnesse of the good Gentry and Nobility in those parts, who did rise like one man against these Sons of *Belial*.

As the *Scotts* Commissioners retired home, the Houses of Parliament of *England* were made acquainted how that their good intentions were frustrated, themselves hardly used for a long time, but at last, with difficulty had gotten home.

Now, the State of *Scotland* seeing the Common Enemy come to the high, that nothing will satisfie him, but totall subversion of Church and State in these Dominions; onely they, perhaps, might be kept for the last, although in intention they had been the first; yett it not enough, for their interest in the Common Cause, to keep an Army in *Ireland*; but also to be upon their guard at home, that they might stop any enterprize the Common Enemy should undertake against them to have any progresse in their Countrey, if they did not altogether prevent it: and to help their Brethren in *England* with their Sword, since all other means so often tryed, were disappointed by the malice of the Enemies. And so much the rather were they moved to this, that the Enemy

Enemy was prevailing almost without let, for by that time he was Master not onely of the Field, but also of all the Strong hold in the North, except Hull alone, with a numbrous and victorious Army of Horse and Foot, domineering and spoiling every where: likewise the West being almost altogether gone by the losse of Excester, the defeat given to the Parliaments Forces at the *Vyses*, and the base surrendering of Bristol, Banbury, &c. the Enemy did think to carry all before him, ready to enter into the Associated Counties, yea, to come to the Gates of London; which they had done in all appearance, without the let of that Noble and never enough praised exploit of the Earl of Essex, of relieving of Gloucester, almost at the last extremity, although valiantly defended by that brave Governour Massey, in despite of the proude Enemy; and thereafter in beating of him at Newbery.

While the Parliament was thus low, many faint-hearted, yet Members of the two Houses, ran away to the Enemy, and others did withdraw, studying, to their eternall shame, to make their Peace more plausibly with the Enemy, and not to run over to him at discretion as others had done.

But when things are thus almost in despaire, then it is thought fit time to have recourse to the Scots, and to call them for help: The Parliament, to try if they could do the businesse themselves, without troubling the Scots, was wisdom: for what need you call for aid, and trouble your Neighbours, when you can do the businesse alone? but not to call for help till things be too low, it is very dangerous. By those who dive more deeply in affaires of this nature. But, the reason why the Scots were so long calling in for help, was, not that the English were not willing to trouble their Brethren the Scots, for, why

why should they think of troubling the *Scots*, since their Fathers had been so ready to help *Scotland*, in its distresse then? Generous hearts will as freely receive a courtesie as they do one, otherwayes they were proud, and self-conceited: But, the true cause, (say they who know the mysteries of the time) first was, that the Sectaries, prevailing with the Rulers of affaires, did so keep them from meddling with the *Scots*, whom they knew to be no lesse adversaries to Schismes and Sects, then to Popery and Prelacy: Next, there were some who yet kept still a bit of a Bishop in their Belly, although by both Houses declared to be not onely unusefull in Church and State, but also enemies to both.

Howsoever, these considerations must be laid aside for a time, and in such extremity the *Scots* must be called to help; yea, some of those who are said to be the greatest sticklers for Sectaries, must at last be employed in their calling in; which was long of coming, after it was resolved upon, by the shifts of the Enemies of Church and State.

The *Scots*, notwithstanding all that had been signified unto them, concerning the favouring of Sectaries by the Parliament, and of their retaining somewhat of the old leaven of Prelacy; seeing that their help was altogether needfull to save the Church and State of *England* from ruine; heartily received the call, being already resolved beforehand upon the Point, and undertaketh, with a Christian and manly resolution, to engage themselves in a seen danger, and to undergo the hazard (but, for *Christ* and his people no hazard is to be regarded) to help their afflicted Brethren: Yet, with this precaution, that the Parliament should sincerely joyn with them in the settling of the Church, as they were heartily willing to assist them against the Common Enemy.

This

This condition was granted unto the *Scots* by the Commissioners from the Parliament of England; and to this end, it was agreed upon, at the desire of the *Scots*, that there should be one Covenant and League made betwixt both Kingdoms, and sworn to, for the settling of the Church according to the Word of God, and conform to the best Reformed Churches, and by name, to the Church of *Scotland*, with the just Liberty of the people, and against all opposition whatsoever. But, because the *English* Commissioners would not take upon them to draw up and to make the Covenant there in *Scotland*, they desired that there might be Commissioners sent from *Scotland* unto the Parliament of England, for the drawing up of the said Covenant, and so was done; for the *Scots* Commissioners assisting, the Covenant, after divers debates, was made, and thereafter subscribed, sworn first by the Houses, Synode, and the *Scots* Commissioners, and then by the people, and sent unto *Scotland*, where it was received, subscribed, and sworn by the convention of States, and then by the people: with all, in testimony of their true meaning, the Houses of Parliament desireth the Commissioners of *Scotland* to assist in the Synode, in their deliberations and conclusions concerning the Church.

The Covenant is no sooner taken, but the King leaveth off to accuse the Parliament of continuing Schismes and Sects, and thereafter tells us, that he will have care of tender consciences, and this to make faction and division, as we have seen since.

While things were thus managing at London, about the Covenant, the *English* Commissioners in *Scotland*, are agreed with the *Scots*, concerning the Army they were to send into England: the Articles of agreement being drawn up, and consented to by both parties.

parties: Commissions were given for twenty thousand men; who with all the haste possible, were gathered together, and then immediately set forth; so in January they march when it was both great frost and snow, and entering into England, with small opposition come as far in as Tyne: the Countrey much hardned before, was either all wasted and utterly spoiled by the Enemy, hearing the Scots coming with a great number of men, & great power: so they could likely find nothing in that Countrey, but what by strength of Arm they could pull out of the hands of the Enemy. Thus did the Scots fight for a while with their Enemies, to wit, with a multitude of men well armed, with evil weather, in the most intemperate time of the year, and with want of Victuals, which was the worst of all: and truly, it had gone hard with them, if it had not been for the provisions sent to them from home, which came but by difficile and uncertain carriage by Sea, by reason of the stormes which fell out then: Yet, these resolute men were still gaining ground upon the Enemy, in number of men he great as they, at least, and far exceeding them in Horse, till at last they passed the River Tyne, having so wearied and harrassed the Enemy with continual skirmishes and onsets, obliging him to lie without, and keep so strait and constant guard and watch, that in the end he was constrained to retire, and gave way to the constant forwardness of the Scots; disorder of his men leaving him for weariedness and want, others falling sick, and numbers being killed at divers rencounters; so one namely there was eight hundred of them slain at *Baden*.

For all this, while the Scots were thus fighting with these three Enemies above-named, for the Common Cause engaged in the Covenant, some men at *London*, and that not of the meaner sort, did not stick

to whisper in the ear one to another, that the Scots did not carry themselves neither as military men, nor as men of courage: this was the lesse regarded, that it was made by those, who, against their will, did give way to their calling in.

The Scots did so take up the Enemy in the North, about New-castle and Duresme, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, assisted by Sir John Meldrum, took the Field again, (having for a long time been confined to Hall,) and tries Fortune: he begins at Selby, which he manfully assaults, and happily takes.

Then those who had not been well pleased at the coming in of the Scots, did begin to say, Now since Selby was taken in, the Scots might retire, they could do the work without them; but this discourse did not take by many.

The Enemy hearing the news of this brave exploit, fearing for York, least Sir Thomas should carry it, run as fast as they could towards that City.

The Scots, as soon as they hear of the Enemies removal, go after him on his heels, taking some of his men and baggage, and follow him unto the Gates of York. Upon this, My Lord Fairfax and Sir Thomas joyn with the Scots; who send to the Earl of Manchester for his help, to besiege York, the Town being of such circuit, that the Scots alone, having left of their men in Sunderland and other places taken by them from the Enemy, near New-castle, were not able to compass it with such circumspection as was needfull, and keep the Fields, so full of adversaries; yet, not with the help that My Lord Fairfax brought unto them. Manchester joyns with the Scots: There were some here that were against Manchester going North-ward to the Scots, not caring how much work the Scots had, and how ill success.

A little hereafter, to be short, while the Forces of Manchester and Fairfax, joined with the Scots, are about the siege of York unanimously; there is one who doth from hence to sow some dissention betwixt the Generals, Eesley, Fairfax, and Manchester; which designe is disappointed by Gods Mercy: then, there is another let a foot by others, to wit, by the Sectaries, which, although it did not rise to a breach, yet it did come to a distaste and dislike; for the Sectaries under Manchester his command, seeing that the way of the Scots was set absolutely against their intentions, concerning the Church-busineses, as mainly did appear by the pressing of Church-government by the Scots in the Synod, and their oppositions of Sects, think themselves, that since they were come to some strength, they must not rely so much upon the Scots, now being able to stand upon their legs with their own Force, and do somewhat to eclipse the Scots whom they had so far extolled formerly, which, while they were weak, and in dislike with the people, for the miscarriage of things, (say those who pretend to know the main passages of busineses;) now at the siege of York they begin to shew themselves, who had been under a cloud, and by some notable action, think to make the world take notice of them: so a party of them, without order of their General, enter in the Town of York, thinking to carry all before them: but, not acquainting their friends of their designe, they could not be seconded, and so were repulled with great lose, and became wiser thereafter then to undertake any thing more in this kinde; wherein they did shew, that when they did think it time for them to do, they would depend upon no order; and so, neglecting Military Discipline, bring all to confusion. This fault was excused for once by ignorance.

After

After some moneths siege, the united Forces before York hearing of Prince Rupert his coming towards them, send a party of both Nations into the Town of Manchester to secure the place, and to buie the Enemy in his way towards them, till they had advanced their work at York: The Enemy taking no notice of that place, and passing through with his daily increasing Army, goeth on as he was approaching, the united Forces send Scouts to know his march and his strength; upon whose relation, they leave the siege, and go to meet and fight him, thinking if they had dispatched his Forces, they would have less ado in the work they had stook so long to: Upon misinformation, they take the wrong way to meet the Enemy; so he had, upon this mistake, free access to the Town.

The united Forces, seeing their mischance, turn their course to stop the Enemies further coming South-ward; he, putt up with the success of gaining free access to the Town, resolves to follow the united Forces, and fight them, promising unto himself, that his good Fortune would continue, and if he had given a blow to their Forces, he would easily put an end to the deligne in hand; for the Scots being once routed, the main let and hinderance to the proceedings of the Court, would much diminish the Reputation of the Parliaments party.

On the other side, the united Forces perceiving the Enemies mind, turn head towards him, fight with him with Gods blessing, and rout him; but, not without losse; for, notwithstanding all the care taken by the old and experimented Chief Commanders, first to put all in as good order as time and place could permit, and to keep things in order in time of Battell, the new raised Horses of York-shire, neglecting the command and example of their Noble and Gallant

Leader, who in this occasion, as in all other, carried himself valorously; fall in disorder themselves, and turning towards these of their own side that were to second them, put many in such confusion, that they would take no notice of any Commander or Leader; yea, they carrie some away with them by violence.

In this Battel, divers gallant men of both Nations had an honourable share of the Victory: but, none I hear of, without disparagements to any, did appear so much in action that day with gallantry, as *David Lesley*.

Here the Sectaries, to indear themselves to the people, attribute unto themselves the honour of the day, and stick not to call their Champion *The Saviour of the three Kingdoms*, when God knows, he that they extoll so much, did not appear at all in the heat of the businesse; having received at the first a little fear, kept off, till the worst was past.

After the Victory, and the Town of *York* taken in, the Generalls write to the Houses of Parliament to give thanks to God; and, in token of their thankfulness to settle the businesse of the Church, and trye once more if it were possible to reconcile differences with the King, in a peaceable way.

Things being settled at *York*, by common consent, the Scots go to *New-castle*, to besiege it, as the fittest service they could do for the publike then, neer that place they joyn with the Earl *Calender* his Forces, who had come from *Scotland* to repress the raging Enemy about *New-castle*, while *Lesley* was at *York* with his Army; the Scots drawing neer *New-castle*, *Calender* and *David Lesley*, with six men more, went to view the place, from which there issued two Troops of Horse, which the eight men routed, having charged twice through them.

The

The Scots for a long time endeavoured to take in the Town by fair means, but at last, through the obstinacy of those who were within, they were constrained to storm it, and so carried it.

Those very men, who at the Battell near York were put in disorder and fled with others, gave the assault, and took New-castle.

Thus, the Scots being Masters of the Town, wrong no man, woman, nor child, takes a mediocere composition for the Spoile; in a word, they carry themselves with such moderation, that the Enemies who had been in Arms against them, were constrained to speak well of them.

Few dayes after the taking of New-castle, the Castle of Tinnmouth is taken by the Scots. The Winter by this time beginning, after so hard employment of the last Winter, and so toying a Summer, as the siege of York and the Battell, besides divers skirmishes and rencounters with the Enemy, then the long siege of New-castle, and at last the storming of it; they resolve to put their men in Garrisons.

During the siege of New-castle, many calumnies was raised against the Scots and spewed abroad by Malignants, and received here by the simpler sort. As the taking of New-castle, was the most important peace of service of that kinde, that could be done to the Kingdom of England, namely to the City of London; so it did rejoyce all honest men: but, on the other side, the Malignants of all kindes were sorry at the doing of it; but more sorry, that it was done by those, who are so constantly opposite to their courses.

The Scots are not sooner peaceable Masters of New-castle, but the trade is renewed again betwixt it and London, to the comfort of the poor of London, who

who were starving for want of fire, and to the benefit of the richer sort. The Coales above and under ground, were rated & disposed on in equity, to the best use of the publike, not wronging the particular, according to the advice and by the Order of the Committee of both Kingdoms, then residing in the North, as the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament can be witnesses, to whose consciences I appeale, if all this be not true. And the English prisoners, taken by the Scots, have been disposed on according to the will of the Houses of Parliament, as soon as it was possible to be done by Military Order.

Now the Scots, after the taking of New-castle, although they were free of the open opposition of the Common Enemy for a time, yet they were molested, vexed, crossed, and traduced by the Malignants, Agents to the Enemy, in the Northern parts, besides those in and about London.

Here you must know, that those of the Northern Countreys of England, have been constantly given to superstition, as men neglected in their instruction, or of purpose detained in ignorance by the Prelats, fore-casting by that means to make them the surer for their designe. And so, the King himself, at two severall times, did find them ready for his designe. The Earl of New-castle thereafter, did find them likewise ready to follow him: So, what by breeding, and what by latter yeers custome, they are for the most part in that Country Malignants. Next, the heavy pressures of Souldiers for so many yeers, with the barrenesse of the soile (the Scots now coming upon them) made them clamorous, things not going according to their mind; For, first, not liking the Cause; next, being already so spent, they were very sensible of the least thing could be demanded of them; joint the millice of some of the chief men in the Coun-

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Country, made the people murmure at first, when
rise up in Arms; but, blessed be God, the insurrec-
tion was soon calmed.

Further, those who are employed by the Parlia-
ment to manage the affaires of these Countreys, have
put all the power in the hands of these who are wicked
Malignants, being either professed Recusants, Secularies
of diyers sorts, or at the best Prelatiques, sticking to
the old Service-Book; yea, some of those who have been
in actuall Rebellion against the State under the Earl
of *New-castle*, who are of the Committees of these
Countreys, now having the power in their
hands, spoile the Countrey, and oppresse good
men; laying the blame of all upon the *Scots*, as
hath been of late represented unto the House of Com-
mons, by men without exception, deputed hither from
these Countreys, in the name of many good men, to
acquaint the Houses with the state of businesses there.

The *Malignants* of the North Countreys carrie
their businesses so, that they find Favourers and
Agents to excuse them, and to further their evil
courses. Let this, what I say here, be thoroughly sifted
out, & it will be found too true, to the prejudice of the
good Cause. God help us, and amend us; for, what
can we expect, when lyers and other wicked men
find this favour and patronage?

The Winter declining, the *Scots* dispose them-
selves for the Field-Service, so soon as the provisions
demanded, in a very moderate proportion, could be
had from hence; which went but late to them, by
reason there was a time spent for obtaining the Ordi-
nance from the Parliament; next, a time for making
ready; thirdly, a time of sending of things. In the
interim the *Scots*, although busied in keeping the ill-
affected of the Countrey in obedience to the State,
send sp arties now and then, upon occasion, as the
publike

publick Service required, for example; to Sir William Brouncker, and to Scarborough, &c. at last, the Resolution is assigned to the Army the 19 of April: to this effect, they require the Committee of that Country to provide draughts against the day aforesaid; but, they could not have any in readinesse till the first day of May, at what time they marched to Rippon, with intention to come straight Southward, according to the direction of the Committee of both Kingdoms; if they could have some few dayes provision (upon all hazards) and draughts. But, notwithstanding all their care and pains, they could obtain nothing but delays and incertainties, with promises onely of provision from night to night.

If the Scots had had their reasonable demands for provisions and draughts, they had been neer the Enemy before he had done the evil he did at Leicester and elsewhere.

While the Scots were at Rippon, it was resolved that David Lesley should go into Lancaster-shire with a party, and he was to have a thousand York-shire Horses to assist; but, what performance there was of this, God knows, for he had not the third of armed men, although a thousand was promised.

By this time, the Scots are advertised that the Enemy was with a flying Army to passe through Lancaster-shire to Carlisle, and from thence into Scotland: upon which advice, resolution is taken, by the consent of the Committee, that the Scots should go into Lancaster-shire, and stop the Enemies passage Northward. After a serious enquiry made, the onely way for them to go, is by all means through Westmerland: From Rippon, notwithstanding the roughnesse and difficulties of the Country, in foure dayes they are upon the borders of Lancaster-shire with their whole Army; whither being arrived, they have intelligence

of the Enemies turning back again South-ward; immediately they desire some small provisions for their Souldiers, and draughts, at the Committee of *Westmerland* and *Cumberland*: but they found them very slow and unwilling. Likewise, the *Scots* being so near, they desired that their Forces before *Carlisle* should be supplied so far with Victuals, as to keep them from starving; wherein they were the more earnest, that they saw how slackly those who were with their Forces, followed the businesse: Doublesse, if they had left then *Carlisle*, the Enemy had been supplied, and had kept it to this day; which in all appearance was the desire of these Committees.

After the *Scots* had ordained things the best they could concerning *Carlisle*, they march South-ward in all haste beyond ordinary; for, some dayes they marched above twenty miles: but after, they were constrained to stay in some places, one, two, and three dayes, for draughts.

While the *Scots* were struggling with these difficulties, news are sent to the Parliament that the *Scots* were gone, no body knew where, and that they spoiled all the Countrey; and this was not done by open and declared Enemies, but by those whom the Parliament trust in these Countries with the managing of affaires; yea, by some who formerly did profess hearty Friendship unto the *Scots*: but the wheel of their own interest turning about, not onely have they delinquished the *Scots*; but also, have declared themselves opposite unto them, and this without any cause: so far prevaileth private interest with men, who seems to be best.

Then, great murmures rise, that the *Scots* would abandon their Brethren at such a necessary time, leaving all the burden of the War unto the Forces of the Parliament in the South.

Thus

Thus were the *Scots* innocently traduced by *Malignants*.

Upon this, the *Scots* Commissioners here, take occasion to sent a Gentle-man to the Army, to know the truth and veritie of things; and within a day or two thereafter, seeing the sinistrous reports increasing, sent two of their own number to be satisfied of all things more fully, and hasten their coming *South*.

In the mean time, the Houses of Parliament presse to know what was become of the *Scots*, and why they had gone this unexpected way, and why, after so many and earnest calls, they did not march *South-ward*, the good of the publike Service so requiring.

Whereupon, the *Scots* Commissioners gave in two papers to the Houses, containing a plain and full relation of the naked truth and reason of things desired; the ignorance of which had, by the shifts of *Malignants* officiating for the Common Enemy, occasioned a great murmure against the *Scots* up and down.

These papers gave such satisfaction to all those who heard them read, and gave attention to them, that nothing was to be replied to the least circumstance mentioned in them; yea, not by those who had been most enclining to give credit to sinistrous reports. Yet these papers were so little divulged, that divers of the House of Commons, who either had been absent when they were given in, or not attentive when they were read, did not know of any such thing.

Next, although the papers had given full content to the Houses, yet the slanders of *Malignants* not only continued, but increased daily more and more against the *Scots*.

After

After some few dayes, there falleth a Copy of these papers into the hands of one, which being shewed by him to some well-affected men, and lovers of the Common Cause, were thought fit by all means, for the publike good, to be published. As this was doing, some *Malignants* get notice of it, and strive to stop it, by dealing with him who had the chief care of the businesse; but in vain, for he was resolved to go on with his designe: so, he giveth the papers to the Presse, which the Printer intitles *The Scots Manifest*: This being published, opened the eyes of many men, to see the truth of things which formerly had been kept in a cloud.

The publishing of this *Manifest*, did much vex the *Malignants*; but, they then were more grieved to see it so well received, and the truth therein contained, so greedily laid hold on by the people, whom they hitherto had so grossly abused by their malicious lyes.

Upon this, these lye-inventers bethink themselves of another shift, to cozen the World in this same businesse, and they go this way to work; seeing they could not hinder the printing of the *Manifest*, they resolve to know whether, or no, the thing had been done by Order from the Commissioners, who being enquired if they had caused print the *Manifest*, they answered no; and so it was, for without their knowledge the thing was done; because that those who had a care of the printing of it, knew very well that the Commissioners, going on in their ordinary course, upon I know what prudentiall scrupulosity, do make known nothing of that they acquaint the Houses with, fearing to offend, howsoever needfull to be opened for the publike Service, and their own credit; but, if there be any thing to be said against them, although without ground, they must hear of it on

it on the deaf-side of their ear, and it must be in every bodies mouth. Then the forgers and publishers of lyes gave out, that the *Manifest* was a false and supposed thing, since the Commissioners did not own it; when as they onely did say, that they had no hand in the printing of it, although they avouch the thing to be in it self most true.

Thus in this place I have set down a full relation of the publishing of the *Manifest*, whereof I touched somewhat before, upon another occasion, to make more known unto the World, with what cunning and crafty malice the *Malignants* of all kindes do oppose the truth upon all occasions, and how they study to hide it from those whom it doth concern, to the end they may feed them with lyes more easily, the truth being kept from them.

After that the Commissioners had sent, as we have said, to the Army two severall dispatches, the House of Commons think it fit likewise to send some of their number to the *Scottish* Army, to see how things went in the said Army, and to hasten it *South-ward*; who met the Army about *Rippon*, and come along with it to *Nottingham*, where those Gentle-men leave the Army, and come back to the Houses, whom they acquainted with the truth of all things, as namely, of the good condition of the Army, consisting in a fair number of brave Commanders and lusty Souldiers, of their ability and readinesse to do Service. Which relation, as it did content and please honest men, so it did gale and vex the *Malignants* of all kindes. But with what difficulties of want of provisions and of carriage the Army had to struggle with in this march, and hath had formerly, yea, hath to this day, for any thing I know, except things be mended of late, as now I hope they are, or at least will be shortly, is beyond expression, partly through the neglect of some, partly

purely through the malice of others, (and this not of the meaner sort) who make their study, not only to furnish no encouragement to these who are come for their help; but also, give them all the distaste they can, to make them weary of the Service, yea, to make them do things by the Law of necessity to keep themselves from starving, which otherways they would not, and so make them odious to those for whose good they are come into this Countrey. If this were done by an open Enemy, yea, by those who declare themselves to be indifferent, it were to be in some kinde digested; but, it is done by those who would make men believe, that they are not only most addicted to the good Cause; but also, that they are advancers of the Service, whereas they make only the Cause serve for a cloke to their ambition and avarice, in their heart caring for nothing, howsoever they make a shew otherways, but to compass their own ends, wherunto a shew of affection to the good Cause doth contribute, namely, where they have any credit.

But, to leave off complaining of those who are neither faithfull nor honest to the Cause, in this listening the *Scots*, I (going on in my Discourse) will say a word or two, in this place, to the clearing of three things, whereof the first is concerning the moneys received by the *Scots* for their pay, since their first undertaking either in *Ireland* or in *England* unto this day.

The next is, how and what provisions they have had for their going on with the Service, either here or in *Ireland*. The third is, of the disorders committed by the *Scots* in their Armies, either in *England* or in *Ireland*.

First, I assure you, in the name of the *Scots*, that their earnest desire is, that all these things in particular be exactly tryed by the Law of Arms, and in equity judged,

judged, where the failings are, and by whom and how, to the end that every one may have his due of praise or of shame; of thanks or of blame; of recompense or of punishment; of remembrance or of oblivion; according as the cause shall require: and the sooner this be done, the better it will, for the Service of the publike, and the encouragement of honesty, and the repressing of wickednesse.

II In the meantime I will tell you in generall, that what money is received by the Scots, is far short of what they ought to have, and that they could with their Armies in England (to say nothing of their Forces in Ireland) had as much money for six weeks, as the other Forces, employed in the Service with them, have in two weeks; and this without jealousie, or envie that others are looked and cared for; yet there is no reason why they should be neglected, since they are constantly following the publike Service with activity and faithfulness. There is a great stir of sending money to them, and far greater of raising it for them, although they receive but a very small proportion, in regard either of what is allowed for them, and lesse of what is due unto them, and least of all, what is said to be levied for them; Wherefore, I say again, they are most desirous of fair reckonings among Friends; let the payment come when it may, the most pressing necessity being supplied.

Next, For provisions, besides the smalnesse of them, they come so slowly, I must say again, that when they are upon their march, they are constrained to stay three dayes in one place against their will; for one dayes provision, and draughts can hardly be had for their march: as it hath been in their march, so it is in their abode, witness their being ten dayes before Hereford, not seeing bread but one day, all the rest lying upon Beanes, green Corn, and

and Fruits. In these they are so crossed, that it seems to be done expressly, for the disenabling them, so far as may be, to do the publike Service answerable to their own desire and readinesse, and to the expectation of the Kingdom.

As for the disorders said to be done in the Army, as it is acknowledged that they are not Angels of Light, without feeding, being but poor infirm men, they cannot but fall and do amisse, in many and many a thing; so they are not Cameleons to live upon the air, but are of such constitutions, that they must have more solid food of necessity for their subsistence, which now and then they cannot come by so orderly as should be. Yet I dare be bold to say, that the *Scotts* Army is as well regulated, as most Armies are, without vanity be it said; and that exorbitancy or scandall is no sooner known, but it is censured & punished according to its degree, by Ecclesiasticall and Military Law; and that no complaint is made, but it is heard and answered, according to equity and reason: Yea, Proclamations are made to incite every one that hath any complaint, to repaire unto the Prime-Officers, or Counsell of War: Yet let the Leaders do what they can, some slips will fall out among the Souldiers that are not allowable; and indeed the Commanders cannot be altogether so exact as otherways they would be with the Souldiers, since the pay is so slow, and so little of it at a time, and provisions so scarce and so hardly had; for when the bellie is thus extreemly pinched, it were hard measure to beat the back.

When the *Scotts* Army came to *Nottingham*, the Generall sent a Letter subscribed by himself, and two more, unto the Committee of both Kingdoms, whereby, in few words, he tels how that the *Scotts* employed in this Service of the Common Cause, have

have had, and have to this day, very harsh usage and hard measure in divers fashions, even from these who not onely by the Common Interest of both Nations, are bound to be their Friends and Brethren; but also, from these who formerly made a particular know of Friendship unto them: Yet, notwithstanding all this, he declareth how that with hearty earnestnesse, they are in readinesse to go on faithfully and resolutely with the Work: But, judging that view of the Letter it self, would give satisfaction to many, I have thought fit to set down here a true Copy of it, furnished unto me by a Friend.

*A Letter of the Scots Generall at Nottingham
to the Committees of both Kingdoms.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE continuance of a firme Union and good correspondence betwixt the Kingdoms, is so much in our thoughts and wishes, as that without it, we can expect no better then the weakening, yea, the undoing of this Common Cause, and the strengthening of the Common Enemies; and, although there be neither few nor small occasions and discouragements from the misrepresentation of our Actions, and misapprehension of our intentions, from the cooling, if not changing, of that affection formerly expressed, both towards our selves, and towards divers of our Countrey-men, who have deserved well for their abilities and faithfulness in the publike; and from the usage and entertainment of this Army, which is neither to that which other Armies in this Kingdom do receive, nor according to the Treaty between the Kingdoms, nor at all certain, such as can avoid the hatred and discontent of the people,

people, whose affections and good will we desire to carry along with us; yet, notwithstanding all these, and the like discouragements, our Actions have been, are, and shall be real testimonies of our constant resolution to pursue actively the ends expressed in the Covenant, and to adventure our selves, and whatsoever is dearest to us, in this Cause; and that, as we had great reason to march into Westmerland, in regard of the Intelligence both then and since confirmed to us, so we have been as ready and willing to come South-ward, as we were desired by the honourable Houses of Parliament and by your Lordships: and we have marched with more speed, and lesse interruption, then is usuall in such cases; yea, our march had been more speedy, if we had not been stayed in some places, for want of draughts and provisions; and now we are, with the assistance of God Almighty, to undertake any Action which may be fittest for the Cause and safety of both Kingdoms. But, if (which God forbid) for want of the conjunction and assistance promised, or for want of necessary provisions, the publike work be retarded, or disappointed, we shall be blamelesse. And therefore we do recommend to your Lordships most serious deliberation, that some more effectuall and speedy course may be taken for necessary provisions to this Army, that both Officers and Souldiers may have in all orderly and constant way, not onely a part of their pay in Victuals, but, a part in money, for their other necessary uses: and in case of our conjunction with any other Forces of this Kingdom, that then the provisions of this Army be no worse then of those other Forces: which things as they are just in themselves, so they are the rather desired, that this Army be not burthensome, nor hatefull to the Countie where we come, and that we may not be redacted to the unhappy necessity of not punishing wrongs and disorders strictly, which as we have not onely forbidden by the strictest Edicts, but have exemplarily and severely punished, so shall we ever be
ready

ready upon complaint and proof of the fact, either to punish the same by death, or other condign punishment, according to the quality of the offence.

We further intreat and expect, that this War might be managed according to the Treaty by the Committees of both Kingdoms upon the place; and for that end, that a Quorum of the Commissioners from the honourable Houses of Parliament, may be constantly with this Army; and that your Lordships may entertain charitable thoughts of our proceedings, confident that according to the knowledge which God hath given us in the matters of our profession, we shall improve all opportunities to the best advantage.

We shall not need to put your Lordships in remembrance how necessary it is, that before the Armies of either or of both Kingdoms undertake the besieging of any Town, they first endeavour a totall dissipation of all the Forces which the Enemy hath in the Fields; and so much the rather, because, by the blessing of God, the dissipation shall be more easie, if the Armies of both Kingdoms be continually aiding and assisting each one to other, and that each all their parts and attend the Enemies motions.

What we have written to your Lordships, we desire it may be made known to both Houses of Parliament, and City of London. And above all, that your Lordships would with all earnestnesse presse the expediting of the Reformation of Religion, and uniformity in Church-government, together with the speedy prosecuting and ending of this War, that we may return home with the comfort of Religion, and Peace sealed, the fruits of our endeavours, much wished and longed for, by

Nottingham 12 June,
1645.

Your Lordships most humble Servants
LEVEN. CALENDAR.
HAMILTON.

We

WE have heard how the Parliament of *England* sent Commissioners into *Scotland*, to call in the *Scots* unto its help, and to capitulate with them concerning their in-coming: We have heard also, how that Commissioners were sent from *Scotland* hither, to be at the drawing up of the Covenant betwixt the two Nations; who ever since have constantly assisted the Synod in the discussion of Church-affaires, more according to agreement betwixt the Nations: thereafter, there was other Commissioners sent hither to share with the Parliament in the managing of State-busineses of Peace and War, wherein now both Kingdoms are jointly ingaged. To this effect, the Houses of Parliament chuseth a certain number of Lords and Commons, to treat of all things concerning Peace and War jointly with the *Scots*, and so together they make up the Committee of both Kingdoms, wherein the *Scots* have a negative voice; and nothing is done, or at least ought to be done, without their knowledge and consent, concerning Peace or War, directly or indirectly, all play under board, and clandestine dealing, being forbidden to both equally, upon the reason of the common interest of both.

Those who had been adverse unto the in-coming of the *Scots* to help the Parl. were much against the setting up of this Committee; but at last, after some debate, the thing is done in spite of opposition: So the Committee is set afoot for a certain time of some few Months, by Ordinance of both Houses. The time prefixed for the sitting of the Committee is no sooner expired, but those same men, with the aid of others, whom they had stirred up to that purpose, cast in difficulties, and will by no means give consent for the continuance of this Committee: so for some dayes

it is broken up; then earnest work there was to get it reestablished again; but all to small purpose, till in the end, there is found one Clause in the Ordinance for the setting it up at first, which did serve for the reestablishing of it, maugre those who did oppose it. Since that time, it hath continued constantly to this day, although not without vexation to some, namely, because the Committee could not sit without the *Scots* being present.

Now the *Scots* called and joined with the *English* to manage the affaires of the publike Service, for the Common Cause of Church and State; at first, they did think that they were to have nothing, or at least, little ado, but to put forward the publike Service with earnestnesse and vigour, against the Common Enemy, without any let here by any of their own party; and so, they resolve with themselves to be very modest and tender, with all warinesse in their proceedings with their Brethren of *England*, who had called them hither upon such assurance, and were so kinde unto them in their expressions, yea, so carefull of them, that they would have them to lodge neerer for their own convenience, and that of their Friends going to visit them; and so the *Scots* remove from the City, where they had lodged in former time, and are placed in *Worcester-house*, where now they lodge.

Those who pretend to know more of the Mysteries of the World then other men, tell us, that the removing of the *Scots* from the City to *Worcester-house*, was not so much the convenience of the *Scots*, or of their Friends, which was intended, although so given out, as their weaning from their old Friends in the City, who formerly had been so usefull and so respective to them, by a cunning for-casting of some men, to wear them out of acquaintance

ance and intimacie with the City, being afraid not to carry on things so easily, according to their intent, if the *Scots* were constantly intime and familiar with the City.

Whatever the end of removing the *Scots* from the City was, it is fallen out so, that the *Scots* being at such a distance, have not been able to cherish and nourish their former intimacie and old Friendship with the City, as they are bound in gratitude carefully to do, and as the publike Service requireth, joint with their own advantage.

Thereafter, the *Scots* finde a harder task then they had promised unto themselves in the beginning; for, besides the great and main work against the Common Enemy, they find some few men, here in the party whereunto they are joyned for the Service of the Common Cause of Religion and Liberty in all the three Kingdoms, who do not onely shew them but small favour; but also, as far as can be without open breach, crosse and oppose them, and, in them, the publike Service: First, those who from the beginning did not approve of their in-coming, for fear they should eclipse their lustre, and diminish their power, was cold and adverse to them.

Next, some others of those who had most bestirred themselves, and most appeared in the calling in of the *Scots* to help, having done the work of their in-bringing, lay down a new ground for the repairing the breach of their own credit, which by the miscarriage of things, namely in the *West*, as we have said before, had been much diminished, and by degrees make up their credit upon the decline of the others; whereunto their earnestnesse for the *Scots* did much serve, and the *Scots* intimacy with them, for many gave willingly way unto them, when they did see them so intime with the *Scots*, whom they knew to have

no by-ends; and those men, on the other side, did endeavour themselves unto the *Scots* by sundry good offices for a time, which they did unto them in things concerning their Forces in *England & Ireland*, employed in the Common Service; and by their constant and frequent courting of the *Scots*, they did so take them up, that they alone, almost, were admitted to any privacy: then some did laugh in their sleeve, to see a few, not so considerable before, bear such a sway and the *Scots*, led thus by the nose; and others did complain, saying, *Why should this be?* It was expected, the *Scots* Commissioners should have been open and free to all honest men, namely to those of worth; yea, they ought to have been so for the good of the publike Service, and for their own credit, not captiving themselves as it were to some few ones. Further, it was said, that they should have pressed home businesses more stoutly and more freely than they did, as they had done in former times in their own particular affaires, when they had not so many professed and powerfull Friends, letting nothing passe of that was, clearly for the good of the publike.

By this complying complaisance, the *Scots* Commissioners have given such advantage to those who for a time courted them most for their own ends, as it seems; for, if it had been altogether for the publike, the *Scots* remaining constant to their point and principles, although with lesse vigour, I confesse, then I could wish, those men had not changed, for ends, which when they had obtained, one after another, did withdraw from the *Scots*, and in a short time point-blank oppose them, by whose help, they chiefly had raised their hight of reputation and opinion among men.

The first and main occasion of mistake betwixt those

those men and the Scots, was the Church-government. When the Scots did engage themselves in this Common businesse, they did stipulate with the English Commissioners, then in Scotland, that they should go heartily & freely along with them, in settling the Government and Discipline of the Church, as it was thereafter sworn to by both Kingdoms, in the National Covenant. And when the Scots Commissioners came hither, and entred into the Synod, they found it had far long, and advanced but small businesses; as for the Government, they had not touched it at all, which in all appearance was kept off by a slight of Prelatists and Sectaries, to stop the settling of the Church according to the best way, expressed thereafter in the Covenant.

The Scots seeing the losse of time, and the evils which were likely to follow, if there were no set Government in the Church; presently moveth the Synod to fall to the Discipline and Government; which they do, and therein a great deal of pains is taken in setting out the Truth, and refuting the errors of ignorants, and oppositions of head-strong wilfull men, who prefer the setting up of their own Chymerick fancies, and *Utopian* dreams, to the Peace of the Church; wherefore I may justly say, whatsoever gifts or endowments they have, whether of preaching or of praying, of languages, or sciences, since they want charity, they have nothing; for, if they had the least grain of charity, they would not thus disturb the Church.

I adde, He that sacrificeth the Peace of the Church to the Idol of his own Imagination, is as he who causeth his children passe through the fire to *Moloch*.

After much struggling, things being brought neer a conclusion, some of those upon whose Friendship the

the *Scots* had till then so much relyed, did declare themselves to be altogether adverse to the Government the *Scots* were so desirous of : whereat, the *Scots* were much astonished : First, because the assurances given by those men unto them, in the beginning of their engagement, for furthering the Church-government intended; next, by reason of the Covenant, whereby the *Scots* conceive us all to be bound unto the government of the Church according the Word of God, and the best Reformed Church abroad, and namely to the government of the Church of *Scotland*.

Ever since that day to this day, those men having withdrawn their temporary affection from the *Scots*, have opposed their counsells, and crossed their proceedings, in every thing wherein they are concerned, as far as in them lieth : And this they do not onely themselves, but, draw others for humane respects, to side with them in so doing. Yea, some there be of this phantasticall opinion in this Kingdom, who stick not to say, that they will rather choose to joyn with Popery, Prelacy, and with whatsoever blasphemy, or heresie, then to submit to the government of the Church by Presbyterie : such is the phrenesie of those mad men.

As those men we spoke of a little above, were, in what they could, against the in-bringing of the *Scots*, and thereafter did oppose the setting afoot and the continuance of the Committee of both Kingdoms ; so those second men, of late, have grumbled, yea to some of them words have escaped, that it was a trouble for the Committee to have the *Scots* ad-joined : Yea, it seems there was a designe to do busines without the *Scots*, and that of great moment, wherein the both Nations are concerned, as may appear, namely, by naming and assembling of a sub-Committee

mitted without knowledge of the *Scots*: Wherewith the *Scots* acquainted the Houses by their papers, given in by them about the middle of *May* last. Further, the secret intelligence for the surprising and taking of *Oxford*, (at an easie place) then unfurnished with provisions, given by one *Patrick Naper*, to a Sub-Committee of three, whereof, there was one of them a *Scot*, is neglected: notwithstanding the *Scots* did presse it much, that the thing should be tryed; they could not prevaile: The excuse was, that till the Army, then a moulding, was in a perfect frame, they would undertake nothing. More, the Enemy is acquainted with the secret advice of the enterprize, and that particularly, who before had not taken notice of the weaknesse of the place named by the advice; which the Enemy finding to be true, repaires and strengthens.

All this then, is known to be true by intercepted Letters, which have not been communicated to the *Scots* Commissioners, notwithstanding the Common Interest. I am much mistaken, if it was the *Scot* who discovered the advice to the Enemy: Be it who will, let him lay his hand to his heart, and giving glory to God, confesse his own wickednesse; for at last, it will be discovered to his shame, I am perswaded.

When the Army was moulded, according to the mind of some few men, then *Oxford* must be besieged, and the Enemy suffered to run up and down, increase his Forces, and spoile the Countrey, yea, to bring all to a great hazard. Yet the new Army must lie before *Oxford*, wherein there was not the men by third part requisite to such a Siege; far lesse to take in the Town. Yea, those men who were there, were not furnished with materials for the the Siege. But, many think there was no intention to take the
Town

Town by open Siege, by those who were contrivers of the designe, since they neglect to trye if it could be done by surprise & secret enterprize: All this while, the chief Commander was most ready to act his part faithfully and gallantly, as he hath done happily since.

From this Siege, the *Scots* not onely do openly dissent, but also, did protest against it: Yet, when the thing was cried out upon, not only at home, but abroad, by Forrainers, who said, *That the Enemy was devouring the Flesh, while the Parliaments Forces were gnawing the Bone*; & they did not stick to say, that fair dealing was not every where. More, the party of *Horses* which were ordained to follow the Enemy, was recalled back, against the advice of the *Scots*; who having acquainted the Houses of Parliament with those passages, should have made known to the whole World, that after their own constant integrity, & simple sincerity, more and more made known to all, in these things, and the faults of others sifted out, and they not bearing the blame of other mens errors, the Service of the publike might go the better on.

Further, it was given out, that the *Scots* not coming South-ward, was the occasion of all these disorders committed by the Enemy.

But, let reason judge, whether or not, it was easier for an Army, provided with all things for the Field and marching, within very few miles of the Enemy, to follow him, disturbe him, and stop him from increasing his Forces, and doing Evil, then to an Army above two hundred miles distant, who notwithstanding their willingness and readiness to march, according to their calling South-ward, could get neither draughts, nor absolutely necessary provisions for a march, in such a proportion as was thought very reasonable.

The truth of this may appear, what troubles General

gerall Lesley found at Rippon, to get provisions and draughts, and how he went to York to that effect, but to very small purpose.

Let things be tryed, and no longer thus carried in hugger-mugger, to the prejudice of the publike Service.

We have heard, how that, and upon what occasion, some of those, who had been so intimate with the Scots Commissioners, leave them, neglect them, and oppose them in their proceedings, so far as they can in a smooth-way above board, to say nothing of what is done under-hand.

So in this place, you shall take notice, how that, on the other side, there be divers of those, who formerly had cared so little for the Scots, that they neither favoured their in-coming, nor thereafter had assisted them so willingly, in their honest & faithful endeavour for the advancement of the publike Service; now, at last, bethinking themselves of their own error, and how that, without reason, they had been jealous of the Scots, they begin to go along with them more freely and earnestly in the publike Work, then they had done heretofore; which the Scots, minding mainly the furthering of the Service of the Common Cause, take kindly at their hands, and welcome the expressions of their good affection to the Service, with respective civilitie; wishing from their heart, that those who are now withdrawn from them, would return unto their wonted correspondence, in sincere and brotherly unanimity, for carrying on the heavy and tedious Work, now lying upon them all.

Upon this there is great murmuring against the Scots, that they had quite left off honest and well-affecting men, and taken semi-Malignants by the hand, who not onely had been slack and backward in the pursuance of the publike Service; but, adverse unto themselves,

selves in particular. To all this, the *Scots* do
 declare truly, that as when they came hither at first,
 they took no interest in any man more then they jud-
 ged him, in all appearance, to interest himself hearti-
 ly, without by-ends, in the Common Cause; and,
 as yet, they do the same, resolved to continue so un-
 to the end, constant to their first principles: and, if
 any men have withdrawn themselves from them, not
 willing to go constantly along with them in this ne-
 cessary course, they are sorry for those, of whose
 constancy they were in a kind assured: and they de-
 clare to the World, that they neither gave, nor in-
 tend to give any just distaste in their particular to any:
 But, if men will snuff, because they are not humeu-
 red in all things, who can help it? The *Scots* did think,
 at their coming in, to have nothing a do with chil-
 dren and women, who must be humeuired; but, with
 set and staid rationall men, without any by-respects,
 or private Fancies, wholly constants to the Cause
 both of Church and State, as we are all sworn by the
 Solemn Oath of the Nationall Covenant: As for
 those, who having cast off their former mistakes,
 now go along with them more earnestly then former-
 ly in the businesses, they cannot but welcome them,
 as all those, who put to their helping-hand heartily
 in the least kinde to the great Work of God, and of
 his people; howsoever their carriage have been to-
 wards their persons, for the publike (they having no
 spleen nor grudge at any) forget whatsoever hath been
 amisse towards them, praying God to forgive, that his
 Work may be carried on more cheerfully and un-
 animously, and they are likewise disposed and enclin-
 ed towards those (who have left them off) to go along
 with them, so freely and so brotherly as at the first; &
 they will imbrace them cheerfully, in carrying on the
 businesses of Church & State with them. This they
 declare

declare not to captive men by cunning insinuation, as factious ones do; but to invite all men fairly to go on with the Work of Church and State, according to the Covenant, as they hope a blessing from Heaven, if they be zealous and faithfull, without equivocation; and may expect judgement, if they either faint or be not sincere. Of this enough for this time.

Yet, there is one thing I cannot passe, and it is this: There be hardly any divisions among these of this side, of which the blame is not laid upon the Scots; as if they had not had their jealousies one of another, and grudges one against another, by reason of particular interest and private opinion, before the Scots did join with them; when it is well known, that the Scots assistance, faithfull in the Counsell, and active in the Field, is not onely usefull and necessary for the opposing and repressing of the Common Enemy; but also, for keeping together those, who otherwayes in a likelyhood, would fall asunder, and so the publique Service suffer, at which the Enemy aimes.

Then I adde, that the Enemy, howsoever low he seems to be at this instant, desires to have no better Game, then that the Scots would retire and withdraw their helping hand from the Service; for he that of nothing made a party so great as to carry all before it, till he was repressed by the Scots, would raise up his party again. But, in despite of the devil, and all opposition, whether clandestin or open; the Scots will stand firm and faithfull, for the carrying on of the Work of God, and of his people.

After a certain time, the States of both Kingdoms, resolved to try yet again if they could reclaim and recall, upon any reasonable terms, the abused and misled Prince, from his evil courses of undoing the people and himself, cause draw up certain Propositions

tions by Common Counsell of both Nations, which they send by Commissioners of both States, to the King; in whom they find nothing but shifts and delays: So they return without effectuating any thing.

A while thereafter, the unfortunate Prince intending to make the simpler sort beleeve, that he was desirous, at last, of a reall agreement, sends hither Commissioners (of whose honest meaning, the people did least doubt; but in the end, they were found to be cajcolers) to draw things towards a Treaty, unto which the *Scots* declared themselves to be inclined, (the main businessses of Church and State being secured) as willing to try all means possible, upon all occasion, to take up the differences in a fair way, to save further effusion of Christian and Brothers blood, and further ruine of those Countreys.

For this, the *Scots* are cried out upon, as evil men, (by inconsiderate persons, set on by *Malignants*) notwithstanding the Treaty goes on, but to small purpose; the Kings Commissioners seeing the pulse of the Parliaments Commissioners, did promise unto themselves, upon what ground they know best, or at least should know, that they could carry all things to their mind, if it were not for the rude and stiffe-necked *Scots*, who were so firm to their principles, and resolved rather to follow on the Work with honour and conscience, although with hazard and danger, then to yeeld to a base agreement, to the prejudice of Church and State.

Upon this, the Court-Commissioners cry out against the *Scots*, as the onely hinderers of their ends, and the stoppers of their designs, first at home in their own Countrey, next here, both in the Fields and in the Counsell.

By

By this, you may see, if there were no other instance, with whom and against whom the *Scots* have ado: what was the carriage of the *Scots* Commissioners, in the Treaty of both Church and States affaires; let both parties freely tell, if they did find in the least point of honesty, faithfulness, resolution, prudence, knowledge, or respect amissing in them.

But, the Treaty ends, without any conclusion for good, nothing being intended by the Court in it, but to gaine time, & more & more to abuse the people, and so make the best advantage of businesse.

Things having been carried in the Field, almost ever since the beginning of these Wars, namely the last Summer, not so well as they might have been, for the advancement of the publike Service, by the fault of some of those who were employed in the said Service; whether it was want of skill, want of care, or want of sincerity and uprightness, in pursuance of the businesse, I will not in this place enquire, lesse will I resolve; but, a fault there was, and that a great one, and much amisse.

Wherefore, the Parliament, upon just reason, having tryed divers times to amend the errors of the Armies, and correct what was wrong in them in a fair and smooth way, but all to small purpose; takes resolution to reform wholly the Armies, and cast them in a new mould.

Whereof the *Scots* Commissioners hearing, for their interest in the Common Cause, think fit for them to remember the Parliament of two things principally upon the point; whereof the first was, That in the new mould wherein the Armies were to be cast, care should be taken to make choice of men of experience and ability, so far as was possible, to do the better the duties of the Service; for although now and then men ignorant of what they undertake, may do
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perchance a thing well; yet it stands that it should be so, not with reason, which must rule all actions.

The next was, that diligent care should be taken, for admitting none to employment in the Armies, but such as were trusty and faithfull to the Cause now in hand, as it is expressed in the Nationall Covenant: wherefore, it was desired, that every one employed, in testimony of his honesty and faithfulness to the Cause, should take the Covenant publicly.

The *Scots* took occasion to give these advices to the Parliament, upon information given them, first, that divers new men, and of little or no experience, were preferred by indirect means, and were to be employed in places of command, for by ends: then, that there were divers likewise named for preferment and employment, who not onely were suspect to be enclining to Schismes and Sects; but also, professed Enemies to what is expressed in the Nationall Covenant concerning the Church, and consequently, to the Common Cause we are all sworn to.

These advices of the *Scots*, although they were not so much regarded as was needfull, yet they did produce this effect, that divers men of known worth and experience, were named to be kept in the new mould, although many were put out, and new men unknown for Military vertue put in their places.

Next, after a great debate in the Houses, it is ordained that all the Commanders should take the Covenant, under pain of cashiering, betwixt such and such a day: But how this Order is observed, I know not, I doubt it is not so well as it should be: As for the common Souldiers, it was not to be pressed upon them, which makes men admire, not well knowing the reason of things, how that the prisoners Souldiers taken of the Enemy should have the Oath tendered unto them, in token of their embracing the
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Parliaments party and cause, and these Souldiers of the Parliaments own side, are not so bound to the Oath of the Nationall Covenant: Further, all suspected men brought before the Committee, many of examination, have the Oath put to them; which if they refuse, they are censured. *Malignants* yet the Parliaments Souldiers are to be free from the Oath, if they please. Yea, many were astonished to hear that it was debated in the Houses, whether those of the Armies should be put to the Oath of the Solemn League, or no; whereunto the Houses themselves are sworn to, and for the maintenance of which, we all now stand, or at least we ought to stand, being sworn to it.

The reason why some men are backward to take the Oath, is that they are adverse to the Government of the Church by Presbytery, which the Parliament is now settling, although the business do not go on so quickly as by many is wished, by reason of so many rubs cast in by severall sorts of men, partly through ignorance, partly in opposition to the thing; for reasons far others then those they hitherto have given out, howsoever specious. At this occasion, it was spoken publicly by one who is a prime man among those who are adverse from the Government above named of the Church, that although in his judgement, he did not approve Presbyteriall government in the Church, yet he, at all times, would submit to whatsoever Church government the Parliament should settle, either by passive or active obedience.

To this is answered; Whosoever saith that he will obey an Order or Law by passive obedience, is already actively in disobedience. Further, to call obedience passive, is as great an absurditie, as to call black white; for obedience is nothing at all but the act of

obeying, and to call an act passive, is absurd, action and passion being more different then black and white; for they are *Toto genere*, distant; and black and white are under *Unum genus*, not only *Summa* difference; but also subaltern of colour.

Further, all vertue consists in action; so obedience being a vertue, cannot be said to be passive, that is, in passion. Wherefore, he who first did invent the expression of passive obedience, did not weigh what he said, no more then those who since, not considering the exact distinction of things, have taken it up at the second hand, and have made so generall use of it. He who thinks that, by his passion, he giveth obedience unto the Law, is mightily mistaken; for, suffering, or passion, is laid upon a man for his not obeying, and to make him obey. Example: A man for debt is put in prison; the emprisonment which the debtor suffers is not obedience to the Law, but one means employed to bring him unto the obedience thereof, that is, unto the paying of the debt. I know, Divines speak much of the passive obedience of *Christ*; but this is of another condition, and so it belongs to another place. Besides, he who offers unto the world his passive obedience, endeavours what he can; and pleads earnestly to be free from it; as we have seen published by writing. This also, is well said publicly by one, that the main quarrell the Parliament stood for at first, and thereafter did take up Arms for, was not for Religion (which is as much to say, the main difference between the Parliament and the corrupt Court Papists, Prelatists, Atheists, and divers other instruments of iniquity, who having sworn fidelity to the Truth, oppose it with all their cunning and power,) nor the Reformation of the Church; but, The freedom and Liberty of the Subject.

Which saying is injurious, in my mind; for, to

ever or publish, that the Parliament did not from the beginning intend a true Reformation of Religion, is a great wrong done to the Wisdom of the Parliament; for how can the Parliament be said or thought to be wise in God, without it hath his fear before its eyes? and how can the Parliament be said to have the fear of God before its eyes, if it hath not care of the establishing the Truth of Religion, and to repress the errors? I cannot conceive, for without the true Worship of God, there can be no true fear of him: then it is most false; for, from the first beginning, did not the Parliament expresse, that it namely intended a true Reformation, by divers instances, although now and then it hath been at a stand how to go through with it, by reason of the lets that the Enemies of the Truth have cast in, and cast still in to this day, by open opposition, and clandestine undermining? witnesse the pulling down of the high Commission-Court, the courbing of the Prelats tyranny, the making silenced Ministers freely preach; and so soon as the occasion offers it self, is it not embraced, to throw the Prelats out of the Church as Enemies to the Truth of God? Then the calling of the Synod: which things, with divers more, the Parliament had never done, if it had not intended mainly the Reformation of the Church and of Religion.

I must confesse, the businesses in the Synod did go on but very remissly, before the Scots joyning, by the Nationall Covenant, with the Parliament, who hath since pressed it somewhat more home; and yet it goeth on but very slowly, not so much by the open opposition of the professed Enemy, as by the crafty insinuations of some phantastical and factious men, who having endeared themselves by some expression of good offices to the people, have buzzed the Parliament in the ear, they must not

anger them for fear of losing so many good Friends, who give themselves out to be in great number, although if things were tryed, it should be found that their number is far short of what is said of it, and their affection to the publike lesse; for, I shall never believe, that those who are for confusion in the Church, are for the settled ordering of the State.

Further, if the Parliament did not make Religion at first its main quarrell it stood for, and took Arms for, I pray you then, when did the Parliament begin to make the Reformation of the Church its main quarrell, at the joyning of the Scots by the Nationall Covenant, perhaps you will say? If so be, when England hath a settled Reformation of the Church, according to the Word of God, the practice of the first ages, and of the best Reformed Church now adayes, it may thank their poor Friends distressed at this time for their sake.

I am assured, he that sayeth that the Parliament did not intend mainly Reformation from the beginning, careth but little for it himself. Next, he makes the main quarrell of the Parliament to be the freedom and Liberty of the Subject: If under the notion of freedom and Liberty, were understood first a free & libre profession of the Truth in a settled Reformed Church, as aforesaid, it were well; and in the second place, the honest freedom and just Liberty in externall things; Such is the freedom that the truly reformed Churches abroad, have constantly sought for to this day, who when they obtain the first, they stand not so much upon the second. But, let us see a little what can be the meaning of the freedom and Liberty of the Subject, without Religion: Is it to be free from the vexation of Monopolies, Projects, Ship-moneys, and of some exorbitant courses of Judicatory, as of that of the Star-Chamber?

If in those alone, and no other things, better and more, I beseech you, what benefit hath the Subject by the freedom from the Court of the Star-chamber? The people say, The Committees of one City or County, doeth more wrong in one year, to the City or County, then the Star-chamber Court did to the whole Kingdom in seven years, if all things be well considered; for it did reach but one man here and there; but the Committees reach almost every man. It is true, the wounds of the Star-chamber were very sore & deep, but they were not so frequent, and now then they were mollified by some moderation; which divers Committees will not admit.

As for the freedom from Ship-money, Monopolies, Projects, &c. *Vox populi*, sayeth, there be more in taxes and contributions laid upon the people in one year, now a dayes, then for many yeeres in Ship-money, &c. Yea, which is the worst, this burden must continue, God knows how long, besides the way of levying it by the inferior Officers, if the taxes are most grievous and the best affected men, for the most part, are most loaden; such is the cry and complaint of the people through the City and County.

So, if the Subject had not the gain of a Reformed settled Church and Religion, he were in a worse case then formerly. Next, there is found but very little more just and honest Liberty for the Subject, then before; onely the Sectaries take greater licence then they were wont to do, and phantasticall men, to vent their idle imaginations, and to abuse the simpler ones, as likewise scurrilous fellows, who upon them to say and write what they list against men. All this is a meer licentiousness and Libertinage tending to the trouble of the people, and not to their good, so far is it from the Liberty of honest and discreet men,

men, who desireth and ought to live, within the
house of good and wholesome constitutions both of
Church and State.

What is said here of taxes, is not to blame them,
for it is known they must be tribute levied for the sup-
porting of the burdens of the Common-Wealth,
namely, in time of War, for its good and be-
nefit.

At the beginning of these Wars here in England,
betwixt the King and Parliament, both parties did
draw unto them so many of the Best Officers as they
could conveniently, neither of them having in their
own opinion such Commanders, or at least, in such
numbers as to make their Armies compleat to their
mind, of their own men.

Such Officers were employed in chief and prime places
of command, on both sides: hence divers men indis-
ferent, nor as yet engaged by affection to either
party, conceiving that neither party could have
knowledge to manage, or go on with the War, with-
out the best Commanders, wished them many miles
beyond Sea.

To the King went and took Service of him, not
only divers who had been Malignants from the first
beginning, but also, some superficiall Covenanters,
who not living in businesses, did shake small com-
puls to serve the King in this War, it not being
against the Letter of their Covenant, as they con-
sidered for the King, protesting from day to day,
that he would stand firm to the true Religion, and
maintain it, his intention in taking up Arms, being
chiefly to suppress some factious persons who had at-
fronted him: and the Parliament not then making it
known to every one, by their expressions, that the
main quarrell the adversary had, was the subversion of
Religion, made some not to discern things so clearly

as otherwayes they had done, if things had been more plainly set down.

To the Service of Parliament, come divers in good affection, being perswaded that the quarrell of England, was one and the same with that in Scotland, howsoever by the cunning of the adversary disguised, and although not then so cleared by the Parliament as was need.

The Enemy seeing that sundry Scots Officers and Commanders were undertaking Service under the Parliament, by his Emisaries up and down, doeth what he can to draw them on his side, or at least, to make them keep off from serving the Parliament. In this, he did prevaile with some, who will have their just reward in due time.

Then, after the War began, and some Field-actions being done, the Enemy perceiving how that divers Scots Officers had carried themselves gallantly, in the Service of the Parliament, returns again to his former courses, and deales by his Instruments and Agents here, to corrupt and debauch those men of Command, upon whom the eyes of many were; the Agents of the Enemy go craftily to work, to compass their ends upon those men; for, first, by cunning insinuations, they enter in privacy with them; Next, they make them fair promises, with specious words of the Kings good intentions towards the publike good of both Church and State, and of the esteem he had of their worth and desert. Then those good Agents for the Enemy, under-hand cause give dislike to the Scots Officers, by neglecting of them, and otherwayes, yea, by some House-fell of them, and otherwayes, yea, by some House-fell there were of them quarrelled in Westminster-Hall, with reproch that they took the Meate out of the English mouth, who could manage and pursue the War as well, at least, as they.

If this quarrell had not been timely taken up, by the Wildom of the Parliament, it had grown to a great height, according to the designe and desire of the Enemy.

This crafty dealing of the adversary, by his Agents, did prevaile so far, that some of the *Scots* Officers, not so touched with the interest of the good Cause, as they ought to have been, nor as they outwardly professed, left off the Service of the Parliament for a time, upon I know not what foolish excuse; and thereafter, upon a change, fell to the Work again. Next, there were others so far perswaded, as to lay down their Commissions, and go to the Enemy and serve him for a while; and thereafter leaving him, returned hither again.

The *Scots* Officers with the Enemy, were in high esteem, and in good respect among those they did serve, till the State of *Scotland* joyned with the Parliament of *England*, in action for the Common Cause: from thence, by little and little, the *Scots*, with the Enemy, became so to be neglected and ill thought of, that there were many of them constrained to go away, and others have been taken and killed by this side, so that, for the present, there be very few, at least of any note, with the Enemy.

On this side likewise, the *Scots* Officers, notwithstanding the State of *Scotland* was now interess'd and joyned with the Parliament, by degrees came to be little regarded, neglected, and divers of them laid aside, after that sundry of them had lost their lives, fighting valiantly for the Cause, others had loosed their blood, and others suffered imprisonment, at last; the Moulders of the new Modell cashier at one dath above two hundred of them, brave fellows, who constantly had carried themselves with honesty, and gallantry, without giving them any satisfaction,

of

or at least, very little, for what is justly due unto them, and had cost some of them very dear: The reason given out against them, was, That it was to be feared they would not be so earnest and so forward, as was required, in this new frame.

Then, those callidred *Scots* Commanders having danced attendance a long time, to small purpose, in pursuance of their just demands, constant to their grounds, although they were thus harshly used, they would not abandon the Service of the Common Cause: so, they resolve to go to the Forces of their Countrey-men, and serve with them in the same Cause; and sends some of them, accompanied with a number of good fellows before, towards the *Scots* Army, till the rest were ready.

Those *Scots* who went away first towards their Countrey-men, being upon their journey, they chanced to be arand neer *Leicester*, when the Enemy made his approaches to that place. The *Scots*, in mere kindnesse and love to those who were engaged with them in the Common Cause, without any Commission from the Parliament, or from the *Scott* General, stay and help their Friends: and how manfully their carriage was, in the assistance of their Brethren, is so known, that it will never be forgotten, when there is any mention of *Leicester*-business. In generally, I will say this of them; That, if they had been seconded, the Town of *Leicester* had not been taken by the Enemy; but, having expected assistance from those whom they came to help, after divers had prodigalized their blood, and that some were killed, with the losse of their Liberty and of all they had, they were constrained to yeeld to force, not without being admired by the vainquors for their valour. Thereafter, those that were taken prisoners, finding their opportunity, lays hold on it as the first, and they carry

carry the businesse so, that they not onely gaine their own freedom, but make themselves Masters of those in whose hands they were.

If those things had been done by some other men, all the Pamphlets about the City of London, should have been full of them.

In this businesse, albeit the Scots did expresse their kindnesse really to their Friends, and made known their valour to all; Yet, here, I must tell you, they did not shew their prudence; for, if the Enemy had known them to have no Commission, (as they had none) by Law of Arms, he had given them no quarter.

On the one side, the ignorance of the Enemy did hinder him to deal with the Scots, being in his power, according to the rigour of the Law of Arms; On the other side, their valour and kindnesse, did prevaile little for thanks or recompense, from those, for whose Service they had undergone such hazard.

When the Framers of the new Modell considered the Scots Officers we have been speaking of, they named four Generall Officers of the Scots to be kept in the new Army; which some did for the good opinion they had of the worth and usefulness of those men, for the Service: Others did it, lest the people should enquire, why all the Scots, at one time, should be thus put out of Service, whose faithfulness and forwardnesse was known, being free of the galls of the late miseries of things in the Fields.

Those few Officers, although they were named to be kept in the new Modell, they did conceive, that they had incited their *Quærens est*, first, by cashiering their Countrey-men, who were known to be well deserving and faithfull men unto the Covenant, (which is the Rule of that we fight for) and

by

by naming them to inferior employments in this new Modell, to what they had come to be preferred to by their own vertue. Next, by bringing in new men, not acquainted with War, in quill command with them, and under them, and some of these professed not to favour the Covenant, unto which the Scots were resolved to stick to: So they thought fit to take the course of their other Countrey-mates and to lay down their Commissions, for fear of further inconvenience, namely, if any mischance should fall out, apprehending the blame should be cast upon them; and then, they could not expect the fellowship nor obeying to Orders in the Service, of those men, who had another mind then theirs, which is expressed in the Covenant.

The disobedience thereafter of some, in the new Modell, to the expresse Ordinances of Parliament, made this apprehension good.

Upon this, there is a great cry given out against those few Scots, who had abandonned the Service at such a time of need; but never a word how that two hundred Scots had been put off the Service.

Here, it may be asked, Whether those few Scots were more in the wrong to the publike Service, by laying down their Commissions, serving still the same Cause, with those who are constant to their principles with them; then those who put off the Service, at one time, two hundred valiant and well deserving men.

I could have wished, for my part, that those few men had laid aside all consideration and apprehension, howsoever just, and continued in the Modell, leaving the event of things to God.

Now, it is said, that God hath blessed the honesty and piety of some men extraordinarily, in the new Army, so that great things are done by it.

I acknowledge with a thankfull heart to God, that he, in his Mercy, hath done great things of late by this Army; but, no thank to the honesty and piety of some men; for, I do not find piety more really in them, to speak with modesty, then in other men: Howsoever their externall profession is, let their carriage towards God and Man speak for them, and not profession onely; for, profession oftentimes is a cloak of knavery and faction.

Then, howsoever God, in his good Providence, doth great things by weak and inconsiderable men; yet, I am certain, it is the surest way to employ men of skill and of experience, in any work we are going about; and surely, we cannot look for a good success of any business whatsoever, when we neglect to employ those whom God hath fitted with ability for the work, if we can have such.

I know, God is above all rule; but this is the ordinary course, both with God and among men; the examples are so clear in all businesses among the Sons of men, that it is idle to alledge any; onely I shall say, that there is more of this choice of fit men to be remarked in the War, then in any other thing among men; as it hath been observed of old, by judicious men: Yet God, in War, more then in any thing else, sheweth his over-ruling power, and that he is above the ordinary course of things. But, to put God to shew here his over-ruling hand, in a extraordinary way, without need, is a kinde of tempting of him; for, since he hath, in his wise Dispensation, ordained an ordinary course for doing of businesses, to be used by men fitted by him for the work, he promised tacitely his blessing thereunto, providing alwayes that we rely more upon him, then the second causes.

More, in all this success there was never more seen of God, and lesse of men; and those men who would make

make men beleeve, that their honesty and piety
things above others, have but small share in action,
for any thing I can yet hear.

A word more: It was not without a mystery,
that so many gallant Officers of both Nations, were
calhied under pretext of want of piety and honesty,
being free of any guilt of the former miscarriages;
and yet the ordinary Souldiers kept still in the Ser-
vice, whose piety is known to be lesse, as men of
little and small breeding, and so, of lesse knowledge of
God and of themselves, and consequently, not so
given to the practice of goodnesse, and so abstract
from evil; having but small light, they cannot
do so well as others, who have better breeding then
they; and, upon mistake, they may more easily be
brought over to do what is amisse, for themselves and
for others, yea, for the publike Service of Church
and State, and so become a prey to abusers and de-
ceivers.

Moreover, there is a great stir about *Carlisle*, now
in the hands of the *Scots*, for the Service of the Par-
liament. For the better understanding of things, we
shall take them at a further rise.

So long as these two Kingdoms were under two
severall Princes, *Carlisle* and *Berwick* were two Gar-
rison-Towns upon the Frontiers; but so soon as these
Kingdoms did come unto one Princes hands, those
places were ordered to be forsaken, and their fortifica-
tions rased, and to be no more a partition-wall;
which was done accordingly, and so they remained
for many yeers, till of late, that is, till the be-
ginning of the first troubles of the *Scots* with the
abused King, who caused then repair those places in
some kinde, and put Garrisons in them.

Thereafter, at the first pacification upon the
Frontiers, betwixt the King and the *Scots*, those
places

places were to be relinquished, as they had been formerly.

By the Articles of agreement, at the second pacification, the same was confirmed, and that by the Authority of this same Parliament, now sitting, gathered together, continued and preserved by the help and aid of the Scots.

The King, beginning his barbarous War against the Parliament, makes *Carlisle* sure, which by degrees insensibly he furnisheth with a strong Garison & Munition accordingly, as a place fit for his purpose, for vexing of the Scots, upon occasion, whom he did foresee would not side with him in this wicked designe, if they were not opposite unto him; and for receiving his *Irish* Rebels, to do mischief to both Kingdoms as they pleased, if they were not stopped. And so, since then, he hath kept it, till within these few dayes; and it hath served for a seat and a passage for troubling both Kingdoms.

The Houses of Parliament, on the other side, a little latter, possesse themselves of *Berwick*, which the King did not regard so much, as not so considerable for his purpose, and also, it was too much in the eyes of men to be seized upon, by him, at the first beginning.

When the Scots come into *England*, at this time, to help their Brethren, who had been so kinde unto them in their troubles, and whose Fathers had assisted their Fathers, in the Cause of Reformation and Liberty; by agreement betwixt the Parliament and them, they had *Berwick* delivered up unto them, for facilitating their entrie, and advancing the Service they engaged themselves in: and if *Carlisle* had been in the power of the Parliament then, it had been delivered unto the Scots, without any more ado, as freely as *Berwick* was, for the very same reason. Yea, more, if it had

had been required then, it had been promised unto the *Scots*: I do not mean of necessity; but of meer consideration to the publike Cause.

Now, the Northern Countrey of *England*, through Gods Mercy, being pretty well cleared, by the help of the *Scots*, of the open professed and declared Common Enemy; it is thought fit, first to block up, and then to besiege *Carlisle*: The *Scots* undertake the businesse, and to this purpose, sent of their Army thither a party of both Horse and Foot, under the command of a Generall Officer, and he hath some Forces of the Countrey to assist and help him, in the performance of the Service; which the *Scots* did not so hardly presse as to storm the Town, for sparing of blood, which they are loth to shed, if the businesse can be carried on otherwayes, (witness *New-castle*, where they shunned to shed blood, and being constrained to it, they did shed as little as ever hath been seen upon such an occasion) so they resolve to take the Town by want of necessary provisions.

Those of the Countrey, who were joynt with the *Scots* in the Service, were so far from helping them, that, by the treachery of their Leaders, they did what they could not onely to hinder the businesse; but also, to wrong the *Scots* in what was in their power; for, when they were ordered to keep their own quarters strictly, and suffer nothing to go unto the Enemy; and if he sallied out of the Town, to fall upon him; they were so far from performing their Order, that when it was in their power to hurt the Enemy, they shot powder without bullets at him, and privately, they suffered provision to be carried unto him through their quarters; yea, by secret combination, they agreed with the Enemy, that if he would sallie out, and fall upon the *Scots*,
quarters

quarters, they should yeeld no help unto them, although they were joynt with them in the Service.

Which proceedings of the North Countrey-men, by the knavery of their Commanders, whereof the chief lately had been in open Rebellion against the Parliament, under the Earl of *New-castle*; being made known unto the *Scots*, they had a neerer eye to their actions, and oblige them thereafter to play fairer play: Those false and deceitfull Leaders, seeing themselves disappointed of their former intents by the care of the *Scots*, go another way to work; and perceiving by the vigilance of the *Scots*, that the Town, receiving no help from without, must render itself; underhand, and not acquainting the *Scots*, enter in a private Treaty with the Enemy, and offer him great conditions.

This being also discovered by the *Scots*, caused them summon the Town, and offer to it reasonable conditions, which the Enemy did accept, although they were not so advantagous for him, in all points, as those offered by the others.

The reason why the Enemy did accept the *Scots* conditions, and not the others, was, first, He could not trust to any condition from those who were so wicked, that they were not trusty to the party they professed themselves to be of, and to their associates.

Next, The Enemy seeing the chief man, among those double ones, to be but an inferior Officer, and one who never had seen greater War then the plundering and spoiling of his own Countrey, under the Earl of *New-castle*, with whom he had been a Lieutenant-Colonel at the most, and now at this time preferred, for some ends, to be a Colonell. Then, there was no Committee there, who could authorize him to capitulate, or make good his capitulation, where

where the *Scots* were ; for , by agreement betwixt the *Scots* and the Parliament , things of consequence in the War, wherein the *Scots* had a hand , were to be ordered by the Committee of both Kingdoms upon the place , or with the *Scots* Army , and that not being, (as there was none then) by the *Scots* Generall his Order ; and so he ordained , according to the first agreement, Lievtenant Generall *David Lesley* to take in the Town , upon such conditions as he should think fit for the good of the publike Service, and put a Garison in it.

Those who came out of the Town , were conducted unto *Worcester* , who were but six score when they arrived thither , the rest being fallen away in their march , either upon consideration of the publike, or of their own private interest.

Thus *Carlile* is put in obedience of the Parliament, for the publike Service , according to the first agreement : And if the *Scots* had not followed the businesse, in all appearance , it either had still remained in the hands of open Enemies , or, at least, had fallen in the hands of those *Malignants* , who neither have respect to the credit of the Parliament , nor regard to the good of the people ; for they dishonour the one , and waste the other.

All the while that the Siege was before *Carlile* , there was not onely a neglect , but such a malice against the *Scots* , who were at it, that they had starved for want , if the *Scots* Army had not sent a good part of the moneys that they had for their marching and taking the Field. Thus is the publike served by the Countrey-Committees , abusing the Authority they have from the Parliament.

After all this , the *Scots* are cryed out upon by *Malignants* ; yea , they write to the Houses against them, as Enemies to the publike good , to the Parliament,

and to the people of *England*, notwithstanding that since the very first beginning of those troubles they have carried themselves faithfully, honestly, and kindly towards *England*, in despite of all Enemies, and particularly towards the Parliament, who were the cause of assembling it, continuing it, and preserving it, first, from the great Plot made against, next, by actively upholding it when it was very low, as it was at their in-coming.

The reason why the *Scots* have put a Garison of their own men in *Carlisle*, for a time, is from the constitution of the present affaires in both Kingdoms; for, having found such knavery and wicked dealing, by the chief men in the Northern Countreys, they did not conceive it fit, for the publike Service, to put the place in the hands of those, who already possessed with power (by the unfaithfull Commissioners, trusted by the Parliament with the ordering of things in those places) do nothing but oppose the designe of the Parliament expressed in the Covenant, and oppress the people, as is made known unto the Parliament by the Commissioners from those Countreys, (men of credit and worth, who have done and suffered much for the Cause against the Common Enemy) sent hither from many good people, to complain against those wicked ones, Enemies to God and to his people: And when it shall be thought fit for the Common good of both Nations, now so united, it will with all cheerfulness be left by the *Scots*; And to this, the State of *Scotland* will willingly engage it self, by all the assurances can be require in reason.

The Common Enemy, since he could not keep out *Carlisle* in open War, against the Parliament, doth his next best to have it in the *Malignants*, his Friends, hands, that at least indirectly, he may do his work; and

and since he failed of both those, he striveth by his Emiffaries and Agents to make it an Apple of discord betwixt the two united Nations: but, this will faile him also, how cunningly soever he goe's about this designe; for, the Wildom of both States is such, that the mistake will be taken away shortly, and that the State of *England* will see clearly, the *Scots*, in possessing themselves of *Carlisle*, and excluding those wicked ones above-mentioned, have not onely done a good peece of Service to the publike and the Common Cause of both Kingdoms; but also, in particular, to the well-affected people in those parts, who are under the heavy pressure of those wicked ones, and had been far more, if they had more power, wherunto the possession of *Carlisle* were such an addition, that it would make them double Tyrants and Brigants.

As the Common Enemy, not onely by open War by Land; but also, by false undermining by his Agents and Instruments, who partly are absolutely addicted to his wicked designe, partly by interest of preferment and benefit, although they care but little for his ends in the Field, or in the Counsell, in the City or in the Countrey; do what they can, with all care and forecasting, to stop the publike Service by many and many wayes; this is known too well to be so little regarded: Even so, by Sea, he steereth the same course; for, not onely by open War he doeth oppose the publike Work, now in hand, in taking and destroying all that he can; but likewise, he useth indirect means by the help of his Instruments, for the hinderance of the Service of the Common Cause, now in hand.

Hence it is that the Parliaments Ships, not so vigorously opposing the Enemy, and not giving time'y assistance to their Friends, interested in the Cause;

so many of the Enemy his Ships, without resistance, go up and down so freely, and that there are so many Ships, Barks, &c. both *English* and *Scots*, taken by the Enemies.

Further, the Coasts of *Scotland* are not so carefully garded and kept, as they were promised to be, by agreement; which hath given and giveth still a great advantage to the Enemy, and hath done a great hurt to the Friends who are employed in the Cause against the Enemy, and, in them, to the Service of the Cause.

These things have given occasion of complaints to many men, bemoaning their own condition, and how that the good of the people and the Service of the Common Cause, are no more and better looked to; yea, some in grief of heart, after their great sufferings, hardly taken notice of by those of whom they expect some redresse, say that not onely there is a great neglect, but, in appearance, there is some secret connivence, by those who should follow this Service. But to another businesse:

It is known to every one, almost, how that for many and many dayes and meetings, there hath been a great deal ado in the Synod, with some few factious and phantastickall head-strong ones (men without love to the Peace of the Church of God) for the Government of the Church by Parochiall Presbyteries, subaltern to Classicall, and Classicall subaltern to Synodicall; whichall being, after so many debates with Patience, Goodnesse, and Charity towards those men, demonstrated evidently to be according to the Word of God, wherein it is grounded, conform to the practice of the Church planted and governed by the Apostles and their successors, for above two hundred yeers after *Christ*; and conform likewise, to the best Reformed Churches now adayes.

But,

But, at length, the thing is concluded upon by the Synod, and approved by the Houses of Parliament, maugre all opposition made by the disturbers of the Peace of the Church, in the Synod, and of the sticklers for them any where else. Yet, those restless spirits will not be quiet; for, they give out, that they will perform at last the thing they have been so much urged to, and for so long a time; to wit, they will give unto the Publike, the Modell of Government they would be at, & to which they will stand to: But, those who have a shrewd ghesse at those men, and at their wayes, assure us, that, as they will not tell what they absolutely and positively professe, nor what they would be at; they will never give a set Modell of Government unto the Publike, whereunto they mind to stand:

For, whatsoever they do in opposition of the Government above named, they cannot agree among themselves unto any one thing, for, so many heads so many wayes dissonant one from another, according to the nature of untruth and error, which is uncertain, and not constant to it self. Yea, there be some who say, That those men will not settle upon any thing at all, except it be upon continuing in phreneticall Fancies; and those of the most exacter sort amongst them, are named *Seekers*, not of God, or his Truth, and of Peace; but of themselves and of novelties, at the best; which ever hath, and will be troublesome to the Peace of the Church.

Truely, as those factious ones, by rejecting all dependancy, and subalternation of inferior Presbyteries to superior, in Church-government, have acquired unto themselves the Name of *Independents*; so, if you cast your eyes upon the courses of those mens seeking of preferment and benefit, they may justly all be called *Seekers*: For, there was never

a generation, among men, so nimble and so active about preferment and benefit, as those men are. The Jesuites are far short of them, howsoever cryed up through the world for this; for, they run up and down with care and cunning to lay hold on power and moneys, wherein they have come to good speed by their crafty insinuations, and the sillinesse of other men: Divers of all ranks, not excepting the higher amongst men, seeing their wayes advantageous, slide and cog in with them, for profit and employment. They, on the other side, receive none in their Society but those of means and gifts; poor people and simple are profane in their account: They work hugely with rich mens wives, widdows, and daughters; and stirring fellows, in any kinde are good for them: And to carry on their businesse more smoothly, they plead for charity, that there may be a charitable interpretation of their carriage and proceeding, when God knows, they are destitute of all charity, first towards the Church, in generall, whose peace they disturbe in a high measure, and towards particular men, for they oppresse and afflict every honest man they can reach, in hatred to faithfulness unto the good of the Church and State, if all were well known and considered; for those who strive so much for confusion in the Church, aime all Anarchie in the State, doubtlesse. It is true, there be divers simple well meaning men that are esteemed in the opinion of those men, of Church-government; but, good people, who are not of the Cabale, nor of the secret faction; who, I doubt, upon fuller information, will leave the error, and follow the Truth. So there be many honest and well meaning people, who adhere and follow the Jesuites, who are not acquainted with the mysteries of their iniquity.

Then, with a great deal of deceit, they cry out against

against the rigidnesse of Presbyteriall-government, as aforesaid, to make the people beleeve that it will rye them to such a strictnesse and rigidity, or austerity, that all Christian Liberty will be taken away from them. Wherein they do lye most abominably against the practice of all the Reformed Churches where this Government hath place, namely in *Scotland* and *France*, where if there be any thing amisse of this kinde, it is towards lenity rather than austerity.

Yet, those fellows give out, that they are more holy then other men, and of a stricter life, and will not admit to their Society any who will not bind himself to the strictnesse they professe externally; but, their carriage, being neer looked to, will be found as far distant from what they professe, as the *Capuchins* hypocrisie is from true piety.

The businesse is no sooner ended concerning the Church-government, maugre *Independents*, but there arise other difficulties and rubs in the way, to hinder the setting of Government: Such obstacles are cast in by the Enemy, to stop the building of the Temple:

First, Some will not allow it to be of divine right, notwithstanding it is demonstrated to have its ground in the Scripture, so clearly that it cannot be denyed, and practised by the Apostles and their successors.

Then, There is a great stir concerning the power of the Presbytery, to admit and keep off people from the Table of the Lord; and to receive men unto the Communion of the Church, or to seclude them from it: Which power some will have to be onely in the Civill Magistrate: Wherein there is a great mistake. From the beginning of the World to the giving of the Law, both functions of the Spirituall Ministry concerning God and Religion, and of the civill Ministry concerning the externall Society of men, being

in one man, to wit, in the Father, and the eldest Son in the Fathers room; things were not so clearly distinct: But then, at the giving of the Law, God in his appointed time, and in his wise dispensation, ordained the functions of his spirituall Ministry of Church, and of the civill Ministry of State, to be in distinct persons; so the power belonging severally to each Ministry was to be exercised distinctly by those who were set aside severally, for the severall Ministries: And that the one Minister had power over the things concerning his Ministry, as the other over his, it is clear by Scripture.

Thus, things did continue from *Moses* to *Christ*, although now and then not without some alteration or change, by reason of the revolutions of affaires, in the State of *Israel* and of *Judah*.

In the Christian Church, the distinct Ministries being in distinct persons, the power belonging to the severall Ministries, must be in distinct persons, according to their Ministries; and although the civill Magistrate, or Minister of State, is not to exercise the spirituall Ministry, nor what belongeth to it; yet he is obliged to oversee the Minister of spirituall things, to do his duty faithfully and diligently. Of those, much hath been said and written in former times, and of late, by men of the clearest judgement, and of most understanding in things of this nature. Besides, the fear of men, that the spirituall Scepter and rod of *Christ* should be prejudicial to their wordly authority, the frequent encroaching of the Ministers of the Church upon the civill Minister, to wave what is done elsewhere, and hath been in former times here in those Islands, not onely of old, but in those latter yeers, Churches Ministers, ambition, & avarice, having cast us in all those troubles; doth furnish just occasion of wearinesse to the civill Magistrate, to keep the Ministry & power

power of Church men within the precinct of the Church; but it must not be so as to make them like the trencher-Chaplain, to say a short grace and no more.

As the Church Ministers are not to meddle with civill affaires, so the civill Ministers ought not to meddle with things meerly spirituall; such are the censures of the Church, which is commonly called the power of the keyes.

Further, as Prelats with their Emisseries, have put *Christ* out of his Throne in a kinde, making themselves Lords and Masters of his Flok and Heritage; so on the other side, those who take away the due power of the keyes from the Ministers of *Christ* in his Church, doth him a great deal of wrong in his spirituall Kingdom. Therefore, let us look to it, lest when we have pulled down one tyranny Antichristian out of the Church, we do not leave it to confusion and Anarchie, and so to be enslaved to the phancie and to the humour of weak men. But of this, let it suffice in this place.

Moreover, as the *Scots* did constantly, in all their own troubles ever from the beginning to this day, lay hold upon all the occasions they could meet withall, to try if it were possible by fair means to redeem the misled King from his evil wayes, and to calm all things with the least noise or stir that could be; so it hath been their constant course here, both before and since their conjunction in action with the *English* in this Common Cause, to try by fair means, if the King could be prevailed with, for his own good and that of the people; and now at this time, after so many advantages obtained of late upon the adverse party, they have thought it fit to desire the Parliament to send to the King, to try him yet again, if at last he will condescend to what is fitting in reason and conscience for the settling of Church and State, as it hath been proposed.

posed unto him, with a ripe deliberation, after a serious debate, and laying aside all evil Counsell, wherewith he hath been so long misled, come home to the Parliament, the great Counsell of the Land.

This advice of the *Scots*, as it is liked by the wiser and better sort of men, who have mainly the publike Service before their eyes; so, by the hotter kinde of people, who breath nothing but violence and extremity, it is cryed out upon as prejudiciable unto the Common Cause, and will give an advantage to the *Enemies*; since the King is not to be reclaimed by fair means, and will never yeeld to reason but upon meer necessity.

It is but too true, I am assured, and I must confesse there be but very small hopes of doing any good with the King, or gaining any good upon him in that way; for, besides that nothing hath been gained by all the former Messages sent to him, or by Treaties with him, the violation of the Peace made twice with the *Scots*, the many Plots both in *Scotland* and in *England* to undo all, the bloody busineses in *Ireland*; the last intercepted Letters, wherein he expresseth his mind, and the intelligence we have from all places abroad, tells us sufficiently that he will continue still in this persecuring way of Church and State, so long as he can hold out. The reason of this his perseverance in those courses, is clear to any rationall man, and it is this: There is a great designe now afoot in these Dominions, which is to bring all to spirituall and temporall slavery and thralldom more then it was in the blindest times; which will be kept up with all might and might, so long as is possible; and the abused King, who is the chief Agent in this businesse, will be kept to it and not suffered to give over the work, but go on so long as they who set him about it, can furnish

furnish him with any encouragement, by hopes, counsell, and intelligence, moneys, arms, or by any other assistances whatsoever, to keep life in the businesse.

Now, if you will ask who be those who have set this great designe afoot, and have engaged the King in it, I will tell you, *Rome, France, and Spaine*: The *Pope*, to have all under him, at least, as formerly: The *Spaniard* and *French*, first, both in respect of the Holy Father, as Christian and Catholike Sons; then, each of the two hath his own private interest besides: The *Spaniard*, by the means, hopes for a number of good Friends here, (the work succeeding) by reason of the common Catholicity, and to have *Ireland* absolutely at his devotion, to side with him upon such occasion as he shall require; for it is every where remarked, that the Popish of those Dominions have a double dose of *Catholicon* in their bellies, and to be *Spanish*, and as they are addicted to the tyranny of *Rome* over the inward man, also they are affected to the tyranny of *Spaine* over the outward man; so ingrate are they towards God, and so unnaturall towards their own Country.

The *French* hath his particular interest in the work; for, since he could by no means get the King to side with him in opposing the *Austrian*, and to help his nearest Allies and Confederates against his and their Enemies; in spleen and revenge, hath put many Irons in the fire to give him work at home, to undo himself and his people.

Next, The *French*, by the putting the King to work at home; and by keeping him to it, goe's on with his own work against the *Austrian*, namely in *Flanders*; wherein these Dominions have the most Interest to look to, by reason of the nearnesse and the narrow Seas,

Then,

Then, the *French* hath a further drift, who when he hath any leasure from his Wars with the *Austrian*, either by an accommodation, or by an absolute Victory, he may send hither a party to make the *Holla*, with a vengeance, little to the content of either Prince or people; yea, to seek by a strong hand that which the *Norman* offered to the then *French King*, and he refused.

These are the shares and parts that *Rome*, *Spaine*, and *France* take in our troubles, howsoever they give out otherwayes, for prove of this, to lay aside many things which might be here alleadged:

First, for *Rome*, I pray you put before your eyes the constant and neer commerce the corrupt Court and the wicked Clergie have had with *Rome*, and have to this day, with the Letters betwixt the King and the Pope, and the sending Agents hence to *Rome*, and from thence hither, and a *Nuncio* into *Ireland*, who is now so far as the neerer coasts of *France*, in his way for *Ireland*.

Next, for *Spaine* and its adherents in the Catholic-like Cause, to say nothing of what is past in the kindling of the fire among us, by severall underblowings: I pray you to consider the Residents now of *Castille*, *Portugall*, of *Venice*, *Florence*, *Lorraine*, &c. what their carriage is, how enclined to the Court, and how adverse to the Parliament.

As for *France*, The late *Factionum* of that Court, did acknowledge it to be one of his Master-peeces, to have kindled the fire in all those Dominions, first in *Scotland*; next in *Ireland*, and last, a little before his death, in *England*; whereabout he had above a dozen of Agents at one time, acting their severall parts in this act here with us. Those who have succeeded in his place, carry on things his way very neer, namely, in what concerns us, as may appear by the
sending

sending into *Scotland*, to hinder the *Scots* joyning with the Parliament, and by the continuall supplies which are sent from *France* to the Enemies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Residents of *France* their expressions in favour of the Enemies.

All this is done really, albeit not avouched by publike Authority.

Notwithstanding that both *Spanish* and *French* give out they will keep fair with the States of both Kingdoms, and indeed the commerce in some kinde is continued; but, they receive in their Sea-Towns Pyrates with the spoiles they take from both Nations, who are now confederate in this Common Cause.

Then some others, who, at first, although they had not perhaps put their hands to cast us in those troubles; yet, seeing us enclining thereunto, have put them forward, and have given help to our miseries. Such are some of *Holland*, who, against the principles and grounds of their own State, have by their late Ambassadour, declared themselves to be enslaved to our corrupt Court, for their own private interests, and for that of him who namely set them a work.

When I spake of *Holland*, *Spaine*, *France*, yea, of *Rome* it self, I do not mean the common people; but of those who have chief hand in affaires and in Government: for, God knows, the people of those Countreys are as innocent of any evil office done unto us now, as our people were free from doing harm to the Protestants of *France* and *Germany*.

The King of *Danemark* would fain have had his hand in the businesse; but he hath found other things to do.

Yet, after all this, since we constantly pray for our
King

King both in publike and in private, if it were Gods will, to reclaim him unto himself; and then that we might have godly, sober, and quiet life under him; I see no reason why we should not try upon all occasion to regain him, leaving the event and successe to God, as the favourable hearing of our prayers for the King, to God his sacred will; which not being declared unto us upon the point, we demand it upon the condition of his good will and pleasure, and not absolutely as the salvation of our souls, concerning which he hath manifested his will, in his word, unto us.

Now in this place, and at this time, I know it will be expected to have somewhat said of the present condition of *Scotland*: So, to discharge this duty in some measure, I give you this Discourse in few words, and as neer the truth as I can, being at such a distance not having so full intelligence; which I pray you to take thus.

The Common Enemy seeing himself disappointed of effectuating, to his mind, his wicked designe by his enterprises of War, and his failing Plots in *Scotland*; then the *Scots* refusing in *England* to serve him in this designe, as thereafter their helping the *Protestants* in *Ireland*, and last of all, their aiding *England* when they were very low, against his bloody Agents; finds if it had not been for the *Scots*, he had not had such rubs and obstacles, and so had gone more freely on with his work: Wherefore, since the *Scots* were the onely, in a kinde, hinderers of his compassing of his designe, he thinks how to be revenged of them, and to make them leave off this active opposing of him and his designe. After many things proposed and tryed to small purpose, at last it is resolved by the Court to send home the *Malignant* Lords, to see what they can do; whom, according to orders, go home, submit to the State,

State, and take the Covenant. Divers other *Malignants* who had been lurking in and about the Countrey, do the same, and so they make all their peace. More, there were other double minded Lords, who hitherto had carried themselves so warily, albeit they were known so be disaffected, yet the Laws of the Land could not lay hold on them, receiving a favourable interpretation by the help of their kinred, Friends and Allies.

At this time, a good part of the best affected men were employed abroad, either in *England* or in *Ireland*, what in action in the Field, and what in Counsell; and the military men, who had been most stirring in their own last troubles, were employed in either of these two places, and some were gone to *France* to serve that King in his Wars.

The Countrey being thus emptied of men of Counsell and of businesse, as also of men of War; the Agents for the Common Enemy bethink themselves that they have fair occasion to do somewhat for the designe they in their heart affect and follow: but to go more smoothly to work, they must be employed in the service of the Countrey, which being emptied (as is said) of honest and able men, did admit them, and was in a manner of necessity constrained to make use of them in the Counsell of State, and in divers others Assemblies, and in all Committees almost.

This point being gained, resolution is taken to make a party of some stirring men to go into *Scotland*, and the *West Islands* are designed to be the only fit place, the chance being tryed so often before to no purpose, because they were negligently kept; the Lords and chief men of those parts being in *England*, with divers of the prime men of the Countrey: they pitch upon an *Alexander Macdoneld* nicknamed *Kilkjiterch*, that is to say, *Little thief*, an Epithet
fit

fit for a man who lives on spoile and prey. This man
 as an outlaw had left *Scotland*, and gone over to *Ire-*
land, where he joyned with the Rebels, and fought
 for them against the *Protestants* for a time; and after
 some dislike he leaves them, and joyns with the *Scots*,
 and bringeth some few hundredes of such men as
 himself with him. The Generall receives him, and
 he serves the *Scots* against the Rebels for a while:
 he tells the Generall that he had a great mind
 to have pardon for his former errors, and make
 his peace with his native Countrey: the Generall
 undertakes it, but finds not the thing so easie to be
 done, and so soon, as he expected, by reason (as is
 given out) of the naughtinesse of the man; others say
 more; truely there was a particular spleen that stopped
 it. At this, *Macdoneld* frets, and goe's back again
 to the *Irish* Rebels, who received him kindly, partly
 by reason of his activity, partly in regard of his new
 kinred with the Earl of *Antrim*. To be short, reso-
 lution being taken to send over into *Scotland*, and
 that into the Isles, choice is made of him, who
 having chosen out, from among the Rebels, some
 few hundredes of desperate fellows what native *Irish*,
 what *Scots* habituated in *Ireland*, what Islanders and
 highlanders of his own humour and Friends, goe's
 for *Scotland*, and lands in the *West* among the Isles and
 hills, where he finds but little, if any opposition. At
 his thus arrivall without any rub, divers of his old ac-
 quaintance and outlawes with him, repair unto him;
 so he increaseth his number: at the first, the businesse
 was laught at: But, seeing the number did increase by
 those men, it is thought fit to look after them. He
 that had most interest, was in *England* for the time,
 who upon the news, goe's home, and takes Com-
 mission, with divers other Noble Gentlemen, to pur-
 sue the Enemy; but the pursuit was with such slack-
 nesse

ness, that the Enemy gains daily ground, and his number increaseth.

By this time, *Monroffe* who had secret correspondence with *Macdonald*, upon advice, goes privately from the North of England, where he had bestirred himself as in the South of Scotland, but he had been repulsed by the English and Scots forces in those parts, with few men incognito, and joyns with *Macdonald*.

The two being joyned, *Monroffe* declares himself Generall of the party, and sheweth his Commission, with many fair pretences to stand for the Covenant, and to continue the Government of the Church as it is now settled, and also, to ease the people of the burthens laid upon them by some factious men: This he promisseth, assisted with Papists, Atheists, forsworn men, and outlaws; which he performeth much at the rate of him who set him a work, spoiling, burning, and slaying men, women, and children; in a word, using all kinde of barbarous dealing where he could be Master: yea, divers were not spared upon their beds.

Then, those Nobles and Gentlemen who had Commission from the States of Scotland, go against the despicable Enemy, and the first rencounter was about the bridge of *Ferne*, where some betraying the Commission they had, run to the Enemy, others astonished fled away, and others sell their lives at the dearest rate they were able to do: so with a few, he had the better of a great number. The Enemy had another rencount a while thereafter, by the same way, and with the like successe: After which his courage and number increased so, that the people began to apprehend and fear him.

Upon this, the States send more men to help, and think fit to employ an old Officer to command in Chief against those Rebels, who seeing this preparation made against them, retire to the hills, and seeing

the Enemy, from the hills, upon intelligence given him by *Malignants* of the Countrey in the Army, falls now and then upon Gentlemens houses, Villages, and Towns, which he spoiles and makes a prey of, and sometimes falls upon one quarter or other of the States Forces, where, although he found even honest men that fought most valiantly against him, and killed many of his men, yet, by the treason of some Commanders or others, for the most part, he hath come off with advantage; and now within these few dayes, he hath had the greatest with a handfull of men. He never, to this day, could make up at one time three thousand men, when the Countreys forces were together neer twice, thrice, yea four times his number.

Although God be the Lord of Hosts, and it is he that giveth wisdom and resolution for Victories; yet since men have a hand in this businesse, we cannot but enquire if the men employed in the work have done their part according to their trust and abilities wherewith God hath inabled them.

I know, that it is ordinary with people, (who rise little higher then to men) when there is any good successe obtained by any, to adore him, and when things go amisse to lay the fault upon man, yea, perhaps, upon the same man whom they had a little before adored.

Yet here, although I cannot say positively, there hath been a continued treachery in the carriage of things, by divers of the Officers, namely, by him that did command in Chief; there be shrewd presumptions to guesse that there is a great deal of knavery; as,

First, The great complaints of the honest and true Com-

and judge best of fair play or foul.

Next, The posture of the Countrey, when this party entred into the Land.

Then, The correspondence the Enemy hath with some of high note and employment in the Countrey, with the favour and connivence of others.

Further, By the open treason of those who have run unto him, although employed against the Enemy; yea, there be who have run unto him in the Field, when they should have fought against him.

More, The assurance that the *Malignants* had of Victory long before it came, at home, in the Countrey, here in *England*, and beyond Sea.

To this exigence, with the now unsuffering barbarous Enemy and of false brethren, have honest men brought themselves to; and the poor Countrey, who had carried on their own businesse with such resolution and wisdom, &c had kept under them the sons of *Belial* and children of falsehood and lyes, that they durst not grumble, but submit quietly, for their kindnesse to their Neighbours, among whom they have dispersed themselves for their Service, and for overplus, they are payed with ingratitude, neglects, yea calumnies and affronts for their pains, by many of these people, for whom they have drawn all this upon them, and for whom daily they hazard and lose their lives, when they might all this while have sat at home quietly: but, they hope that the same God, who set them first about his Work, for all this, will inable them in mercy to be stedfast to his Cause, for which they now so much suffer; will, at last, free them from trouble, and end the businesse to his own glory and the good of his people, in despite of all malignancy and opposition whatsoever; for, when God hath chastised his own for a time, he will throw the scourge in the fire, and shew them

them his great power in redeeming them from the hand of the wicked, upon whom the tempest of the Lord goe's forth, and the whole wind that hangeth over shall light upon their heads; yea, the fierce wrath of the Lord shall not return untill he have done and performed the intent of his heart upon his Enemies: and the Lord will say unto Israel, *Thou People, who hast escaped the Sword, hast found Grace in the Wilderness, and I will go before thee to cause thee to rest, for I have loved thee with an everlasting Love; wherefore, with Mercy have I drawn thee, and I will make a new Covenant with thee, thou hast broken the old which I made with thee when I brought thee out of Egypt; and this shall be the new Covenant I will make with thee, I will put my Law in thine inward parts, and write it in thine heart, and thou shalt be my People, and I will be thy God.* Let us therefore wait upon the Lord with patience, who will not faile in his promise, if we return unto him with true repentance for our sins, and with a serious resolution to stick constantly close unto him, with our whole heart.

There hath been of late a great blustering of some secret under-hand dealings with the Common Enemy, by some few men, without the knowledge of the publike; of which I have thought fit to say these few words; and to understand the thing more at length, we shall call to mind how that the King, this last Winter, sends hither his cajoling Commissioners, who, according to their Order, did cajole the Scots and the Independents; but, how far they prevailed then with the Independents by their cajolerie, I cannot tell: but, I am sure, they did not gain of the Scots the least point of any thing, yea, not of any expression or thought of businesse, which could be in any kinde interpreted to have an ill meaning in it against the Churches and States advantage, in the three Kingdoms;

doms ; as the *Scots* have made appear in their constant fair carriage, in all business of Church & State, mangre envie, namely in the last Treaty, where they did shew really what honesty and faithfulness they had in their heart, as I have said before.

The Treaty being ended without any agreement, the Court, after a time, sends one hither ; for, although he gives out that he stole away, yet he came with the knowledge of the Court ; and things being tryed really, it may happily be found that he came hither by Order expresse, with instructions ; who is a great cajecolor to use the Courts own words, that is, in plain language, a meer cheater, who hath vowed to cozen, by his lyes : This cajecolure, as the former two, endeavours, first, to cajecole the *Scots* ; but, finding he had a cold coale to blow, he leaveth off the designe with them, and makes his addresses unto the *Independents* ; but how he hath sped with them, it is not as yet fully known, things not being manifested ; but some siddling businesses there have been betwixt him and them, whether or no, by the whole Cabale, or by some few of the prime of the faction, it is uncertain.

First, That there was some under-hand-dealing by them, the intercepted Letters of *Digby* unto *Leg*, give a shrewd proof of it.

Next, The Papers found since in the cajecolors friends closet, under the cajecolors own hand.

When these things are tryed to the full, we hope the light of all will appear, which all honest men wish it may be done exactly and speedily : And till then, mens minds will not be satisfied, and they will hardly refrain to speak of these things, howsoever it be taken ; for they conceive not onely by the openness of the time they are free from the thraldom of the corrupt Court ; but also, since they have interest in

thoughts freely of occurrences, so it be with discretion, sparing mens persons, till things be cleared: And sincerely I think, no innocent man can be angry at this; if any in conscience finds himself guilty in any kinde, that he will do well to suffer it patiently, for fear he suffer more, if things go exactly on to a trial.

The light that happily may be found out of this, will not be and cannot be by a mathematicall or metaphysicall demonstration, yet by so certain proofes as the nature of the thing can suffer or require; for, businesses of this nature take probable Arguments for demonstration, as we are taught by the Doctors of the Politicks.

I know some have suffered for their free expression of these things, yet, I am confident, it had been greater wisdom (under favour) to let go free speeches, rather then to examine them too neerly, namely, when they proceed, without malice or scurrility, from honest men, who in their zeal, perhaps, now and then, may exceed the exact terms of moderation; and this I am perswaded, hath been the constant practice of wise men, grounded upon this: if the discourse be groundlesse, it fals of it self. If there be any ground by stirring and ripping up speeches, things will appear openly, which otherwayes in a short time, would have been buried in oblivion.

I forbear instances as in all my discourse, keeping my self to generalls, although I could have furnished divers examples upon every point I have touched; for, albeit it be said, He that speaks in generall of all and to all, speak of none and to none, yet every one may make use of what is said in generall, and apply it unto himself, for the good of the publike and of himself;

it, besides the glory of God, the good of Church and State, and the true advantage of every honest man, without any wrong-meaning, but an earnest desire that every one who is right and honest in this Cause, without by-respects, may continue so till the end; and that those who have gone a wrong way may return into the true, to the glory of God, the advancement of his Cause and of his people, with their own praise and benefit.

Before I conclude, I will say this in truth, There was never a People in any age, who, by Gods blessing, did carry on the work of Reformation with more wisdom, and resolution, and successe, then the *Scots* did in their own Countrey, and no more compassionate of their Neighbours in distresse, nor more forward to help them by action and counsell, and to carry on the work of Reformation amongst them, then the *Scots* have been and are to this hour: So, there was never a People so harshly used in divers kindes, by some of those for whose good they have been and are so earnest: If this coarse usage went no further then their own persons, means, and reputation, they could passe it with silence, and not so much as think of it, laying it aside in Christian charity and brotherly love, although they suffer much in all these by it, since they have joyned with their Neighbours to help them: But, since, by the neglecting, opposing, and in a word ill-dealing with the *Scots*, the service and work they are about is wronged, stopped, and delayed, which is mainly and namely to help the setting forward the Reformation of the Church of God, as it is expressed in the Nationall Covenant, they cannot but take it heavily to heart for the Name of Gods sake. Surely those

those false ones, who have sided, and, at this time,
use thus their Brethren, who have ventured, yea, laid
themselves in a manner, with all what is dear unto
men, for their sake, and to do them a double good,
that is, to help them out of trouble, and to further
true and through Reformation amongst them; have
much to answer, not onely for their malice, unthank-
fulness, and ingratitude to those who have spent them-
selves for them; but also, for their stopping and hin-
dering, so far as in them lieth, the good work of God,
and by that means give occasion of the continuance of
these miseries wherein we are all now involved, and
almost overwhelmed. God forgive these men, and
turn them truly unto him, if it be his will; otherwise
let them have no power to hinder his good Cause.

And thus, good Reader, I have thought fit to
give a little touch of divers main passages of these our
troublesome businesses, leaving a fuller Discourse of
things to another time and another place.

FINIS.

MUSEUM
BRITAN-
NICUM

N. 94.